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More on Ukraine Halting Removal of Nuclear Arms

Nuclear Center Proposed

PM1303215592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1, 2

[Sergey Tsikora report: "President Kravchuk Suspends Removal of Tactical Nuclear Weapons from Ukraine"]

[Text] This sensational news was announced to journalists by President of the Republic L. Kravchuk at a news conference held 12 March—on the eve of L. Kravchuk's 100 days in the post of president.

IZVESTIYA reported earlier that during a meeting with representatives of the U.S. Congress, the Ukrainian president said that he is not confident that the nuclear weapons which are being taken out of the republic are being destroyed. At the news conference he elaborated on his statement. L. Kravchuk said that he gave the order to suspend the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from the Ukraine until reliable guarantees of their subsequent destruction can be obtained.

At the moment none of the CIS countries can furnish such guarantees, the president emphasized. Russia lacks the facilities for dismantling and mass destruction of nuclear weapons, both tactical and strategic ones. Therefore we are having to introduce corrections in our concept. Without changing its strategic goals of becoming a non-bloc, nuclear-free, and in the longer term neutral republic, Ukraine believes that the removal of nuclear weapons from its territory and their destruction should be carried out under international supervision. We have addressed this request to West European states and the United States, L. Kravchuk went on.

The absence in Commonwealth countries of a modern enterprise for the destruction of nuclear weapons gives Ukraine the moral right to have such a plant in its own republic. All classes of nuclear missiles will be destroyed here, and also waste from nuclear power stations which specialized enterprises in Russia are refusing to accept for processing. Such a plant could be built in the area of the notorious Chernobyl zone. The entire world community will help us to built it, L. Kravchuk emphasized.

The president also announced another correction to Ukraine's strategic plans. In view of the fact that hundreds of military-industrial complex enterprises are located in Ukraine, the republic leadership is putting forward the idea of opening an international nuclear center here. It will gather military technology specialists under its roof. In the president's view, the opening of such a center will forestall the exodus of physicists, chemists, and biologists who were working for the army to countries with undemocratic regimes. The new institute will also help to organize conversion.

The Ukrainian president's answers to journalists' questions led to the impression that the Commonwealth is going through hard times. Most of the interstate treaties are not operating. While signing them, the young independent states constantly have to look over their shoulder and think about backup schemes to ensure the viability of their republics.

It appears that Ukrainian specialists are also working on such a project. The republic president revealed that the aim of this scheme is to guarantee the preservation of Ukraine's independence in all kinds of emergency sistuations, and primarily during an economic blockade and technological catastrophes. Scientists have been set the task of identifying regions where alternative output is being produced. At the same time a list of enterprises in the Ukraine is being drawn up whose technology would make it possible to quickly organize the production of the scarce goods. According to L. Kravchuk, the project will be ready in four to five days, that is before the meeting of the CIS heads of state in Kiev.

Much time at the news conference was devoted to the Crimean problem.

We are prepared to discuss any questions with the leadership of that republic on the one condition that Crimea remains part of the Ukraine, L. Kravchuk stressed. All other options mean changing Ukraine's borders, carving up its territory... Our position remains unchanged—we are in favor of granting the Crimea the broadest possible powers—economic, cultural, language, and social powers. I have signed a decree on granting Sevastopol the status of a republic city. However, no democratic state can agree to the establishment of a power within a power.

L. Kravchuk described the forces which have raised the question of Crimea's withdrawal from the Ukraine as "hostile to the peoples of the Crimea." If Crimea's intelligentsia and its democratic forces fail to understand this, history will give them a harsh assessment.

I will talk to the Crimeans until I have managed to convince them that Crimea's separation from the Ukraine would be no good for anyone, L. Kravchuk declared. Run your own land, if you like. We will adopt a law on the division of powers and we will strictly adhere to its clauses. Virtually all the provisions of this document have already been agreed on, only four controversial points remain to be finalized...

Your correspondent asked the Ukrainian president for his opinion in respect of the attempt of a number of former deputies of the former USSR Supreme Soviet to hold an extraordinary congress. L. Kravchuk said that any actions to recreate structures of the former Union were unlawful. All the republics of the former Union have declared its demise. Therefore even if USSR deputies gather and adopt some kind of resolutions, these will have no legal or political force in respect of anyone. From the common sense viewpoint, these initiatives will merely make people laugh. I see behind the attempt to convene a congress of old structures wanting to draw

attention to themselves and to return to power. Therefore I regard the decision made by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium a few days ago as correct, the Ukrainian president stressed.

At the same news conference L. Kravchuk addressed a few words to IZVESTIYA.

I would like to congratulate the newspaper on its glorious jubilee—the 75th anniversary of the publication of its first edition. Today IZVESTIYA is doing a great and important job. At the same time I would like to express the wish that the newspaper be guided by the same spelling rules for everyone. If the president of Russia is spelled with a capital letter, then it is desirable to refrain from spelling the presidents of the other independent states with a small letter...

Defense Minister Explains

LD1403194992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Remarks by Ukraine Defense Minister K.P. Morozov on suspension of withdrawal of nuclear arms to Russia; date and place not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Morozov] I would like to say that Ukraine has, from the very beginning of its independence, firmly taken a line toward nuclear-free status, and the state has been tackling this program consistently. The president has announced that Ukraine is not changing its nuclear-free status and is continuing to implement it consistently. It was a question of correcting the mechanism for carrying out Ukraine's program of cutting nuclear weapons.

Ukraine has stated—and this is the result of calculating the possibilities, and it has been set out formally by special agreement—that before 1 July all tactical nuclear systems will be removed from Ukrainian territory to central factory depots for dismantling under international supervision.

However, all this time we also have been assessing how another side of this obligation is being carried out. It is difficult to obtain information as to whether these weapons really are being dismantled. In proceeding to nuclear-free status, Ukraine is aiming at reducing the nuclear potential, not at redistributing it from one region to another, and at relaxing tension in nuclear confrontation in one region, and not at creating tension in another. This is a very responsible action, and Ukraine, feeling responsibility to the world community in freeing its territory of nuclear weapons, cannot take a calm attitude toward a rise in the nuclear potential in another region.

This is why the president made the decision to suspend the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of Ukraine.

Arms Remain 'Temporarily'

LD1503033392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1916 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Kiev—I think in positive terms while assessing the president's decision of temporarily suspend withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine, says Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's commission chairman. Vladimir Pilipchuk, member of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's presidium, chairman of Commission for the Economic Reform also said on March 14 to PF [POSTFACTUM]: Western politicians hold up even unjustified actions by Russia for the sole reason that it is a mighty power, since they are guided by a double standard-for public consumption and for factual consumption. It means that they treat the former republics proceeding not from the point of equal rights, but from that of strength. Pilipchuk labels as erroneous the mere initiative to withhold nuclear weapons from the Ukrainian territory. He believes it is necessary to get rid of the reason for which Ukraine is not considered to be strong. Aleksandr Yemets, Ukrainian state legal advisor, is aware of the present situation only indirectly, that is why he is not capable of providing adequate assessment. However, he does not see that something is incompatible with the Ukrainian course where it claimed from the very beginning its readiness to export arms, but only under control. He assumes that there has been a glitch in the control. Igor Yukhnovsky, Ukrainian state advisor in issues of scientific and technical policy, physicist, academician of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences asserts that Ukraine is void so far of the ability to independently build a plant to process nuclear waste. In his opinion, there is even a shortage of specialists capable of servicing nuclear reactors.

Nuclear Power Intention Denied

MK1403123192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 3

[NEGA report under the "News in Brief" rubric: "Ukraine"]

[Text] Commenting on Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's statement about the republic's suspension of shipments of tactical nuclear weapons from its territory, Vladimir Kryzhanivskiy, Ukrainian plenipotentiary representative and people's deputy, made the following statement: "Our president has stated that Ukraine is suspending shipments, but not discontinuing them. That is, Ukraine needs time to definitively assure itself that nuclear weapons transported out of Ukraine are being destroyed and not moved elsewhere.

"With regard to President Kravchuk's remark that Ukraine would like to carry out the destruction of missiles on its own territory, this was made in the subjunctive mood and can be interpreted merely as a wish on the part of Ukraine.

"Ukraine has never mentioned any intention of becoming a nuclear power. The establishment of a nuclear center on Ukrainian territory in no way indicates any desire on its part to become a nuclear power, and, what is more, this will not encourage nuclear weapons to leak abroad, as Colonel General Sergey Zelentsov, deputy chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Main Directorate, fears."

Reaction to Ukraine Nuclear Decision Reported

Ukraine Seeks 'Concessions'

LD1503120892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0950 GMT 15 Mar 92

["Ukraine Attempts to Make Russia Yield in Military Sphere"—POSTFACTUM headline; from the "Military News" section]

[Text] Moscow—Ukraine seeks certain concessions from the Russian side in exchanging for withdrawal of tactical weapons from its territory, believes CIS JAF [Joint Armed Forces] General Staff commander.

While meeting journalists on March 14, CIS JAF General Staff Commander Col.-Gen. Viktor Samsonov said, among other things, that president of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk's statement concerning temporary suspension of withdrawing tactical nuclear weapons from the Ukrainian territory was nothing more than a political maneuver undertaken in anticipation of concessions in Russian-Ukrainian standoff in the question of Black Sea Fleet's ownership.

Samsonov made his point saying that the statement is running counter to nuclear-free principles announced by Ukraine. He labeled Ukrainian president's statement regarding Russian alleged inability to handle all nuclear charges incoming to its territory from other republics incompatible with the real state of affairs. Russia has four modern plants that are quite capable of meeting this objective, asserts Samsonov, and 50 per cent of tactical nuclear weapons originally based on the Ukrainian territory have been exported, as of now. Intents of Ukraine's to set up analogous enterprises on its territory will put off nuclear disarmament to a more distant future, thinks General Staff commander. Samsonov also confessed that he did not harbor hopes for major results to be obtained by the forthcoming Commonwealth summit in Kiev, planned to be held on March 20.

Zelentsov Comments

LD1403185292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1510 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] In defiance of agreement among the republics of the new Commonwealth, the Ukrainian president, Leonid Kravchuk, says his country is suspending the transfer of nuclear weapons from its territory to Russia. According to the deputy chief of the nuclear forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, General Sergey Zelentsov, the Commonwealth military command did not anticipate the Ukrainian move, even though trouble started brewing a while ago.

Without giving reasons for its move, Ukraine suspended the transfer of tactical nuclear weapons as of 23 February, yet last December at the Alma-Ata Commonwealth summit, it pledged, in line with international law, to help destroy nuclear arsenals by moving the nuclear weapons it had on its territory to special places in Russia.

What the Ukrainian president did was in fact declare that his country refused to keep its word. This could torpedo the schedule of the transfer and destruction of the weapons. Gen. Zelentsov says the Commonwealth's military are worried about another thing. Ukraine says it will build its own facility for the dismantling of nuclear weapons and hire nuclear experts. But if it does build such a facility it will be able to assemble nuclear weapons, too. It will thus violate its commitment under international law, said Gen. Zelentsov. What in the general's view motivated the Ukrainian president's decision?

[Zelentsov, in Russian fading into English report] Many countries have pledged help in the dismantling and destruction of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. The United States alone has promised to set aside $400 million for the purpose. Ukraine might want to claim part of that money. It's only Russia, however, that has facilities for dismantling the weapons. Building more facilities in Ukraine makes no sense. Ukraine might want to benefit from the sale of plutonium and uranium that will be released in the dismantling process. In this case, the Ukrainian ambitions are contradicting international law.

There is yet another possibility Gen. Zelentsov cannot discard: Ukraine might want to challenge Russia as another nuclear power. The general said he would be only too glad if that was not so. But will Ukraine possess nuclear weapons, and if it does, what then? Gen. Zelentsov:

[Zelentsov, in Russian fading into English report] Ukraine as such possesses no nuclear weapons. There is one finger on the formerly Soviet nuclear trigger, and it's not Ukrainian. The command of the Commonwealth Strategic Armed Forces has no intention of ceding control of the nuclear stocks to Ukraine. If worst comes to worst the weapons can be destroyed where they are, most likely by explosion. And, although no one is talking about nuclear explosion as such, Ukraine will be sure to suffer damages. The nuclear devices will be destroyed without a nuclear explosion. What survives will remain where it is and will present a big problem. The parts that remain after the destruction will be potentially dangerous.

But Gen. Zelentsov feels it will be better this way because otherwise the weapons might escape control. He says the Commonwealth military command will resort to this way of action only if worst comes to worst. In any

case, Ukraine will possess no nuclear weapons. But the world public, in Gen. Zelentsov's view, must intervene to check the Ukrainian move.

Kozyrev 'Concerned'

LD1303183892 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] In Moscow, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is meeting with his Romanian counterpart, Adrian Nastase, who arrived in the city on a working visit. The two ministers are expected to discuss bilateral relations and prospects for their expansion.

Talking to newsmen before the meeting with Mr. Nastase, Andrey Kozyrev said he was concerned about the recent statement by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to the effect that Ukraine was halting the transfer of tactical nuclear weapons to Russia. Andrey Kozyrev stressed his government will study the statement in greater detail.

Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan React

LD1403181292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1526 GMT 14 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Foreign Ministry today expressed concern over Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's decision to halt the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from the republic. "Such a step, were it actually to occur, would be at variance with existing accords among the Commonwealth states," a Foreign Ministry statement says.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent tried to ascertain official reactions to this Ukrainian move from other CIS countries. An executive officer in the Belarussian Supreme Soviet chairman's apparatus said that the republic's leadership does not yet have an official view on Leonid Kravchuk's decision; however, it does intend to discuss it at a Supreme Soviet meeting.

A spokesman for the Kazakh president's press service said that the matter is currently being studied. He further remarked that halting the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine would run counter to the documents adopted by the Commonwealth states.

Nuclear Physicists 'Concerned'

LD1403193192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] A group of leading nuclear physicists working in Arzamas-16, the city closed until recently, are concerned about Leonid Kravchuk's decision to halt the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine, ITAR-TASS notes. The statement was signed by Academicians Yuliy Khariton and Yevgeniy Negin and other prominent scientists. They also express concern over the plan to create a factory in Ukraine for destroying nuclear weapons. The scientists draw attention to the fact that the Ukrainian president's decision contravenes its obligations not to proliferate experience, knowledge, and the technology of nuclear weapons production.

Ukraine Could Be 'Pariah'

MK1403102992 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 2

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Army" rubric: "Ukraine Seeks Nuclear Independence. This Could Lead to Its International Isolation"]

[Text] President Kravchuk stated 12 March that he is discontinuing the removal of tactical nuclear warheads from Ukrainian territory. This statement was not unexpected: This turn of events had been anticipated in the CIS High Command (formerly the Defense Ministry and General Staff). President Kravchuk could have declared at any moment that "I am, of course, in favor of nuclear-free [as published] disarmament and a nuclear-free Ukraine, but for the time being, for security purposes, Ukraine is taking control of nuclear weapons on its territory." Which is precisely what has happened. Moreover, there had been earlier instances where the removal of tactical warheads had been delayed by the Ukrainian authorities.

Until now the relevant directorate of the High Command (Military Unit 31600) has exercised full control over the storage, combat readiness, and movement of nuclear munitions. However, the implementation of the recent Bush-Gorbachev-Yeltsin disarmament initiatives did indeed require the efforts of all the available forces. Thousands of tactical nuclear warheads have been moved from outlying regions to Russia, to "the locations where they were manufactured" (Arzamas-16, mainly). Moreover, they have mainly been moved by railroad, which in itself is extremely dangerous.

Then the warheads had to be dismantled, which, in the opinion of specialists, is rather complex from a purely technical point of view. And consequently there have been some delays in the dismantling process (if in some cases the process has gotten under way at all). After all, the cardinal question has still not been resolved: What should be done with the weapons-grade plutonium? Should it be stored in a special supersecure shelter built with money allocated by the U.S. Congress (the plan put forward by newly appointed Russian "nuclear" minister Viktor Mikhaylov), or should it be processed into nuclear fuel (the plan suggested by the U.S. firm Westinghouse and an alternative plan proposed by some of our own scientific research institutes)?

So there was undoubtedly a pretext for Kravchuk's unilateral actions. However, the construction of an alternative nuclear center, even with Western help, on Chernobyl soil poisoned with radioactive isotopes will certainly not speed up the process of nuclear disarmament. After all, conditions are undoubtedly better at the

nuclear research and production centers that exist in Russia: These have trained personnel and also the necessary tools and infrastructure.

Following the collapse of the USSR, four republics declared themselves to be "nuclear," but this was only really true in Russia's case. The other presidents received "correspondents'" ["korrespondentskiy"] nuclear attache cases, not the main ones. They could neither use the nuclear weapons themselves nor even veto their use if the holders of the two "main" nuclear buttons (President Yeltsin and Commander in Chief Shaposhnikov) were suddenly to decide to activate the weapons of retribution. The other presidents would only be able to slightly delay the adoption of the final decision.

However, the likelihood of a foreign nuclear threat emerging in current geopolitical circumstances is rather unrealistic. The nuclear dangers that are undoubtedly lying in wait for the inhabitants of the former USSR come from within, from "our own" reactors and warheads. After all, the dismantling of nuclear weapons (even with international verification) and their subsequent reassembly from the very same components—many of which it is physically impossible to "eliminate"—are entirely compatible processes within the same complex, for which President Kravchuk has found an excellent and extremely symbolic location: Chernobyl.

Neither Russia, the United States, nor any other world power will be able in the near future to take from the Ukrainians the bombs they have "arrested". Nuclear weapons are all too dangerous and harsh actions are impossible where they are concerned, especially when the lives of millions of completely innocent people are in jeopardy. As in most cases when hostages are taken, the only way out of the situation is patient negotiation. It may be that the "arrest" of the warheads is only a tactical move and the crisis will resolve itself fairly quickly. But even in the worst-case scenario, it will be a year or two before Ukraine is able to detonate the first "separatist" nuclear device.

The principal result of Kravchuk's recent statement may be that Ukraine, albeit for a few years, will join the group of "pariah" countries (Iraq, Libya, the DPRK, etc.) which the world community suspects of trying to have their own nuclear potential.

Arms Decision Threatens CIS

PM1603163492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Maksim Yusin report: "Decision of Ukrainian President Threatens International Accords"]

[Text] An event occurred on 12 March which could be fatal for the CIS and have unpredictable consequences for Russian-Ukrainian relations. Speaking in Kiev, Leonid Kravchuk stated that Ukraine is suspending the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from its territory. "Given the prevailing political instability and confusion, we cannot be sure that the missiles being removed by us are being destroyed and are not falling into unfriendly hands... Ukraine regards as inadequate the capacities of the plant for the destruction of nuclear arsenals situated in Russia. It is therefore entitled to have similar enterprises on its own territory... The enterprise could also undertake the reprocessing of waste from the republic's atomic power stations," the president said, justifying this move.

Kravchuk's decision effectively means that Ukraine intends to become a nuclear power. And this radically alters the situation and the correlation of forces in Europe and the world. The worst fears regarding the Soviet nuclear legacy are, it seems, starting to be realized. The assurances given by the republic presidents about the reliability of centralized control over nuclear arms are nullified by Kravchuk's statement yesterday.

What might the consequences be, then?

First, the already difficult relations between Russia and Ukraine will worsen. Kravchuk's decision is an open challenge to Yeltsin and Moscow. The Ukrainian president has made use of his main trump card, which he had hitherto held in reserve—Kiev is playing the nuclear card to counterbalance Russia's "imperial ambitions."

The promises to destroy the missiles taken under the republic's control will scarcely reassure Moscow. Kravchuk could repudiate them at any time as blithely as he has disregarded Ukraine's commitment to remove all tactical nuclear missiles from the republic by 1 July 1992.

Kravchuk's step, taken a week before the Kiev meeting of CIS leaders, indicates that Ukraine will henceforth speak to Russia in a different language. It is difficult to say as yet what this will lead to or whether the Ukrainian president's calculation will pay off. How will Yeltsin react? The Russian leader is faced with a difficult choice. Either he makes concessions to Kiev in all the inevitable disputes of the future in the hope that Kravchuk will soften his position and recognize Russia's nuclear exclusivity or, following the Ukrainian president's example, he gambles on confrontation.

Each option contains serious dangers. The concessions could prove endless. By taking this shaky route, Russia will not only harm its international prestige by allowing a neighbor to talk to it from a position of strength, but will most likely achieve no results. Kravchuk won't give up the nuclear argument here, but will make skillful use of it in all the ups and downs of Russian-Ukrainian relations, first increasing and then decreasing the pressure.

If, however, Yeltsin accepts Kravchuk's challenge, the CIS will most likely break up, the two republics will find themselves on the brink of conflict (I would like to believe that it will not be armed conflict), Ukraine will

start making claims on strategic weapons after the tactical ones, and the question of the ownership of the Black Sea Fleet will be raised again, while Russia for its part will recall its claims on Crimea.

As this issue goes to press, there is still no official response from the Russian Government. The Western capitals are silent too. Kravchuk's statement is as unpleasant a surprise to the West as it is to Moscow. Throughout recent months the Ukrainian president has persistently sought to persuade Baker and Genscher that the republic will honor its commitment to become a nonnuclear state and has no claims on Soviet missiles. All those promises have now been broken. The world is on the verge of seeing the emergence of a sixth nuclear power.

Such a drastic change of course, one out of keeping with European political standards, will hardly strengthen the Ukrainian leadership's position in the international arena. Kravchuk has been gradually acquiring the reputation of an unpredictable leader (of which Yeltsin, incidentally, has been divesting himself).

Ukraine's example could infect other "nuclear" republics of the former USSR. Nursultan Nazarbayev has long held a "special stance" on the question of nuclear arms control. Belarus' policy has also been ambiguous of late. Russia's priority in the nuclear sphere is again in question. And this increases still further the danger of a chaotic division of Soviet missiles.

As for the military, they have treated Kravchuk's statement extremely seriously. "The fact that Ukraine is stopping the removal of nuclear weapons and is trying to take them into its possession is a most flagrant breach of the 1970 Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons," Colonel General Sergey Zelentsov, deputy chief of a CIS Joint Armed Forces main directorate, told our military correspondent, Viktor Litovkin. "Ukraine is also breaching the accords reached within the CIS."

"The plant for the destruction of nuclear weapons which Kravchuk mentioned would certainly have to be equipped with the appropriate technology and manned with specialists. The possibility of a brain drain abroad is thus created," according to him.

Iran Gets Nuclear Warheads From Central Asia

LD1603055292 Moscow TASS in English 0515 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn March 16 TASS—According to a report in STERN magazine, Iran has come into possession of two nuclear warheads and medium-range nuclear weapon delivery vehicles obtained from one of Central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union. An article to this effect will be published in full on Thursday. Excerpts from it have been made available to the Bonn bureau of ITAR-TASS.

Paul Muenstermann, vice-president of the Federal Intelligence Service (BND), reported this at a closed-door meeting held in the federal chancellor's office, STERN reports. As Muenstermann said, the reliability of information raises no doubt.

Report Denied

LD1603124492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Russia and Kazakhstan have refuted a report by the German magazine STERN that two missiles from the arsenal of tactical nuclear weapons disappeared from the territory of Kazakhstan and turned up in Iran. A spokesman for the Ministry of Defense in Moscow said that this information does not correspond to reality. All nuclear weapons, he stressed, are under strict control and it is impossible to sell or steal them. At the same time, ITAR-TASS reports, the United States is alarmed by such reports. [passage omitted]

Rutskoy on Remarks of Nuclear Arms in Caucasus

OW1503182292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy of the Russian Federation clarified his pronouncements on the presence of nuclear weapons in the Caucasus. Asked by IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, he said that "nuclear weapons were present [as received] in Transcaucasia, including air-based destruction means. That is why I was confident saying that its using by any national armies is 1,000 percent impossible. Today, as far as I know, nuclear weapons have been completely withdrawn from Transcaucasia".

Asked about his attitude to Russia's borders as they emerged after the CIS was set up, Aleksandr Rutskoy said that this was the most sensitive and complex question. "If sovereign states emerged on native Russian land, we should hold civilized talks on border issues and on all contested territories. For example, the Crimean land was soaked with Russian blood and Nikita Khrushchev, suffering from a hangover, chose to hand the Crimea over to Ukraine. We should not be new Khrushchevs", he stressed.

With respect to his new position as "Russia's chief agrarian," Rutskoy said he himself asked that he be put in charge of agriculture. When he was dealing with conversion of industry to civilian uses, with the military and the situation of army officers in particular, he saw great opportunities in the development of private farming and agriculture in general. At the same time, the vice-president said, the new appointment does not preclude him from "dealing secretly with military affairs".

General Denies Nuclear Arms Given to Caucasus

LD1403183692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Report by television correspondents V. Kukushkin and V. Andreyev, identified by screen captions, and including recorded interview with General Boris Pyankov, deputy commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani side are trying to accuse the CIS troops of having transferred weapons to the militants in the Transcaucasus. However, this is completely at variance with reality.

[Pyankov] Well, the depot in Agdam was seized. It was seized in a sudden attack. It was seized, let us be blunt, with the aid and as a result of treachery by one of the warrant officers of Azerbaijani nationality. Artillery ammunition, including some rocket-propelled munitions for the Grad installations, were kept there. Arms seizures are continuing even now. There is a clear hunt for officers. Sudden attacks are launched on military encampments.

[Unidentified correspondent] One more question, a very important one: Are there nuclear weapons on the territory of the republic? After all, they were there during the period of the earthquake in Spitak.

[Pyankov] I must tell you absolutely objectively that there are no nuclear weapons in the Transcaucasus. The current arms situation testifies to the fact that the conflict is taking on new qualities; large-scale military operations are underway with the use of tanks, armored equipment, and the Grad installations, something that will inevitably entail an escalation of the combat operations already in the next few months, when mountain passes become free of snow, and when roads have had a chance to dry out a bit.

Containers With Cesium-137 Stolen in Soligorsk

LD1303232592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 13 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The NEGA agency reports that two lead containers with radioactive isotopes of cesium-137 were stolen from the Belaruskaliy production association in Soligorsk, Minsk oblast.

Theft of Uranium From Army Stores Denied

LD1303230292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] The future of nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union is again high on the agenda following two recent reports. One is from Germany about the detention of two former Soviet citizens who had in their possession uranium 235, probably stolen from army stores. The other is a statement from Russia's vice president, Aleksandr Rutskoy, who spoke in a televised interview about the presence of nuclear weapons in the Transcaucasus, putting security precautions there at 1,000 percent. A high-ranking army official, the deputy in charge of the Commonwealth nuclear forces, General Sergey Zelentsov, has this to say.

[Begin Zelentsov recording in Russian, fading to English translation] The general described as groundless media speculations about enriched uranium, used in the manufacture of nuclear weapons, being stolen from army stores. He said both uranium and plutonium were kept inside nuclear warheads and there was no way of extracting them. General Zelentsov denied the possibility of theft from army stores because of tight security and protection systems there.

Asked about the presence of nuclear weapons in the Transcaucasus, as suggested by the Russian vice president, General Zelentsov describes the statements as a misunderstanding. He says the nuclear weapons had been withdrawn long before the outbreak of ethnic troubles in the region because of advance information on the possibility of widespread unrest there. General Zelentsov reiterated that apart from Russia strategic weapons were deployed in Belorussia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, while withdrawals were under way since late last year of tactical nuclear weapons sited in Belorussia and Ukraine alone. But the transfer of strategic weapons to Russia, he said, would not begin until after the ratification of the strategic arms treaty.

Asked what exactly Aleksandr Rutskoy had in mind revealing the existence of nuclear weapons stores in the Transcaucasus, General Zelentsov explained that the stores continued to be called nuclear, which must have been the cause of misunderstanding. He denied the existence of nuclear weapons in the region, although he said the stores could be used to keep conventional weapons.

General Zelentsov, deputy in charge of the Commonwealth nuclear forces.

Nuclear Weapons Safety Issues Discussed

PM1303123292 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 92 p 2

[Interview with Gennadiy Novikov, Chief of the Sector Special Security Laboratory at Chelyabinsk-70, by V. Umnov; place, date not given: "Few Bombs Will Survive Till the Year 2000: In the Past Year the Safety of Our Nuclear Weapons Has Declined Sharply"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] I would not have dared make that statement before my conversation with Gennadiy Novikov, chief of the sector special security laboratory at the nuclear city of Chelyabinsk-70.

How Were the Warheads Brought Back From Their Old Sites?

[Novikov] It is no secret that we had to urgently ship nuclear weapons from many territories where they had been placed in specially equipped sites. For example, we had to bring them out of the Transcaucasus across a land in the grip of unrest. So even in the process of shipment there was the risk of an accident happening. You yourself know that the accident rate on the railroads is very high...

On the other hand, we were removing warheads from their prepared storage areas to other sites. The weapons were sited at bases built long ago and, furthermore, ones not designed to take additional warheads.

[Umnov] Have new storage facilities not been built?

[Novikov] Who has had the time to build them? After all, these are specially equipped storage depots protected from outside influences and sited in specific places.

Admittedly, these installations have already reached the end of their service life, which is the case throughout our industry. In some places they need to be rebuilt—that is ordinary current work. But now...

[Umnov] In that case, can it be said that in the past year the safety of nuclear weapons stationed on the territory of the former Soviet Union has declined?

[Novikov] Technical safety, like the internal characteristics of the weapons, remains unchanged. But in the broad sense—taking into account the political and psychological situation—safety has undoubtedly declined sharply.

How Were Nuclear Weapons Monitored in the USSR?

[Umnov] We never had independent monitoring [kontrol] of nuclear weapons or their safety...

[Novikov] Decisions on their development, production, and introduction into the armory were made by joint resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. The number of nuclear weapons and their location were also determined at the top party and administrative level. There was no question of any discussion at the Supreme Soviet (by analogy with the U.S. Congress). The most appropriate state organ—the USSR State Committee for Safety in Industry and Atomic Power Industry—never had anything to do with nuclear weapons.

In other words, there was complete **legal** anarchy but the most rigorous **departmental** discipline. Legal regulation of the relationship with nuclear weapons was simply not required!

[Umnov] Quite recently, in the period of glasnost, it was suddenly discovered that our country has the largest stockpile of nuclear combat supplies. How did it manage to conceal it?

[Novikov] Until recently what we had was not a nuclear combat stockpile but simply a "reliable shield of the motherland." Only a few individuals—you could count them on your fingers—knew about the real arsenal. I think that even the government could only guess at it.

The figures came from the arms reduction talks and first appeared in foreign sources. The figure most often mentioned—and this is the most reliable one, even though it has not been officially confirmed—is around 30,000 nuclear munitions.

[Umnov] They need to be constantly updated...

[Novikov] We may assume that the usual guaranteed lifetime is 10-15 years. Each year 2,000-3,000 have to be taken out of service and dismantled and replaced by an equal number of new ones.

[Umnov] What happens to the obsolete warheads?

[Novikov] They are taken to the plant where they were first built, the electronics and automatic systems are removed and destroyed.

The fissile [delyashchiysya] material, the nuclear charge itself, remains. It can be reprocessed as new munitions, or stored, or used in nuclear reactors after the appropriate reprocessing.

[Umnov] Which method is actually used?

[Novikov] The methods vary, it depends on need.

What Was the Defense Ministry Able To Hide From the Nuclear Scientists?

[Novikov] There is no good monitoring of nuclear weapons now either.

[Umnov] Independent monitoring?

[Novikov] Most often it is state monitoring. Our nuclear weapons belong to different departments. One department develops and produces the charge, another the missiles, and another the ships and submarines. Departmental separation is such that we conceal information from one another, including information affecting safety.

[Umnov] ??? [question marks as published] What, for example, was the Defense Ministry able to hide from the Ministry of the Atomic Industry?

[Novikov] Whatever it wanted: The location of warheads, storage conditions... By no means all representatives of the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry were allowed into the storage facilities and military bases.

Read foreign literature on safety, not necessarily even nuclear safety, but in the chemical and metallurgical industries. You will see that for any activity which could harm the population or the environment a firm has to obtain a license. To do that it has to prove that measures have been taken to guarantee safety...

But in our country there was no licensing system even for nuclear power stations. The decision to build a nuclear enterprise was made at departmental level—with the agreement of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

Was the location of these enterprises based on considerations of the population's safety? Hardly... Rather the decision was based on military requirements—dispersal, ease of enemy strike. And these installations ended up near a number of large cities...

In the United States aviation is the main means of transporting weapons, road transport is an auxiliary method. Perhaps this is connected with the fact that U.S. weapons are deployed outside its borders and any route can be used for aircraft.

We use mainly rail transport and a little road transport. All the railroads run through large centers. Do you think that nuclear munitions are transported on different railroads? They use the very same track...

Are Even The Good Things Bad in Our Conditions?

[Novikov] I would say that in terms of safety we lag behind the Americans somewhat. There is a reason for this. They have learned from their own mistakes. They have had at least two accidents in which plutonium was released: at Palomares in Spain in 1966 and at Thule in Greenland in 1968. There were no nuclear explosions there but radioactive substances escaped.

After that they immediately changed their concept of safety. Aircraft were forbidden to carry nuclear munitions on alert duty. A whole series of technical measures were devised and introduced.

But in our country there have been no accidents involving nuclear weapons with radioactive contamination...

In principle an accident involving our nuclear weapons could have happened. Even before Chernobyl. The preconditions existed, for example, in submarine accidents.

How Can One Gram Contaminate a Whole Kilometer?

[Novikov] We, too, have now quite radically changed the concept of nuclear weapon safety. After all, there could be a conventional explosion or fire affecting munitions in an assembly shop, on board a train, in a storage depot, or on a delivery vehicle. The probability of such an event in present operating conditions is estimated at approximately 10 to the power of minus six or 10 to the power of minus seven a year. Given the vast nuclear arsenal we have a quite significant expected accident rate—about one every 30-300 years...

Previously, for example, it was simply not taken into account that plutonium could also escape as a result of a conventional explosion—for the population this danger is not much less than that of a nuclear explosion. According to U.S. publications, one nuclear munition contains three kg of plutonium. Approximately one gram is "enough" to contaminate one square km, requiring the population to be evacuated. Clearing up a "simple" accident of this kind will cost from half a billion to several billion dollars.

Try Not To Be Conscientious!

[Umnov] The brain drain has a direct bearing on safety... Are people fleeing?

[Novikov] First, they simply are not allowed to, they have signed an undertaking.

In addition, and this I think is the main thing, for years professional pride was instilled in nuclear scientists. They were selected when they entered prestigious, effectively specialist university departments or when they were students at the country's best institutions. Then, after being sifted again, they were sent to closed cities or military garrisons. There they worked side by side with top professionals both from a sense of fear (the careless and the miscreants could easily be expelled) and conscience. In that way a pool of nuclear scientists was formed and those people are now perceived by many to be if not the elite of Soviet applied science then at least a real national asset.

For the sake of the great aim, nuclear scientists also suffered the discomforts of life behind barbed wire where even their relatives were not allowed and from where they could not talk freely on the telephone. Not that they wanted to brag about their production achievements! For the sake of that aim they endured risks in tests and experiments and some died as a result...

Now that aim is being eroded, it is disappearing.

[Umnov] But nuclear scientists are now working abroad under contract, are they not?

[Novikov] The Kurchatov Institute, which I respect, warns of the danger of a covert exodus of their physicists. But there is no need to restrict the Kurchatov physicists, they have nothing to do with nuclear weapons.

[Umnov] Would you care to predict how the situation will develop?

[Novikov] Events, unfortunately, are hard to predict. A few years ago we did not have the concept of nuclear terrorism at all. Now we are talking of the possibility of the deliberate seizure of nuclear munitions. You could blackmail people by threatening a simple detonation. This is a new area for us, it was always believed that we had discipline and order.

If all nuclear weapons are removed from the territory of the other three nuclear states of the CIS that will be very good for them, of course. But for Russia it is an additional strain.

[Umnov] What can be done quickly?

[Novikov] A Council of Ministers resolution in 1990 stated: A single system of ensuring the safety of nuclear weapons is to be created.

At present, however, mutual relations among the nuclear states in the sphere of maintaining the level of safety depend on the goodwill of the sovereign presidents—a pretty unstable foundation.

French Group Views Arms Industry Conversion

PM1203130592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Yuriy Kovalenko report: "Conversion in Ukraine and Belarussia: Situation Desperate, But French Are Ready To Help"]

[Text] Paris—A group of French industrialists and military men headed by Jacques Mellick, secretary of state for defense, visited Ukraine and Belarus during the first few days of March. The objective of the visit was to outline ways for possible cooperation with the two republics' military-industrial complexes and give them assistance in conversion.

The French came to the conclusion that the military industry of the CIS is in a state of confusion and is waiting for foreign help to carry out conversion. Judging by recent statements, its chances of success are viewed very skeptically in Paris.

For the first time Dnepropetrovsk, which was a restricted city for many decades, a LE MONDE correspondent writes, was on the itinerary and received the representative foreign delegation, which was a military delegation, moreover. In Dnepropetrovsk, with its 1.2 million inhabitants, roughly one-third of the active population is engaged directly or indirectly in producing missiles, and about one-third of the 30,000 graduates from local VUZ's [higher educational institutions] found work each year until recently in the "Yuzhmash" military plant.

"...If we manage to sell our civilian products, all the better. But I cannot produce just pots and pans," Leonid Kuchma, general director of "Yuzhmash," which produces strategic missiles and delivery vehicles, explained to the French visitors.

Ukraine and Belarus as a whole, where military industries employ respectively 1.5 million and 600,000 people (in France, the world's third-ranking military power, the figure is only 250,000), are suffering from overproduction in this sphere, and this is having a ruinous impact on their entire economies. Ukraine and Belarus need capital and orders for their future civilian output. If they do not get them, the plants will have to abandon conversion and continue producing lethal weapons.

In Kiev, so LE MONDE writes Viktor Antonov, a Ukrainian minister for questions concerning the defense complex and conversion, told the French that the implementation of 24 conversion programs will cost $1.8 billion. He has asked Germany to grant credit (1.1 billion marks to start with) to finance—via an insurance company—certain joint conversion operations. He put the same proposal to Jacques Mellick. And "Yuzhmash" Director L. Kuchma intends to reach an agreement with the Australians and Japanese to construct a cosmodrome if Kazahstan's Baykonur space center can no longer be used.

With what kind of impressions, then, did the French leave Ukraine and Belarus? "We did not come to attend a patient's sickbed," Mellick explained, reluctant to overdramatize the situation, "but as partners determined to investigate every opportunity for cooperation. The military industry has its own logic, expenses, costs, productivity, and income. We are concerned with establishing high-level work of mutual interest between partners. These are not charitable works."

The French do understand our problems, since their country is also contending—on a completely different scale, of course—with the same difficulties, namely, the need to cut back on and diversify their own military industry. In the CIS, delegation members remarked, the accelerated liberalization of this sector can only lead to economic and social chaos. As far as the majority of industrialists accompanying Mellick are concerned, their opinion is that the situation regarding conversion in the two republics is simply desperate.

Nevertheless, France is ready to give some help to the CIS republics. It will, in particular, create a 50 million-franc assistance fund to hire under contract specialists in the spheres of aeronautics, the civil space program, and artificial intelligence. The French hope thereby to avoid a brain drain in dangerous areas.

Turkey Outlines Nagorno-Karabakh Peace Plan

PM1303143492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Undated letter from Turkish Embassy in Moscow under the "From the International Departments' Mailbag" rubric: "Peaceful Settlement Plan for Nagorno-Karabakh"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The editorial office has received a letter from the Turkish Embassy in Moscow containing a plan formulated by the Turkish Foreign Ministry for resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh problem:

1. An appeal by the [UN] Security Council chairman for an immediate cease-fire and a political resolution of the conflict.

2. The declaration of a cease-fire and the invitation of the sides to a CSCE session to work out a decision on the formation of a special mission to monitor the peace settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh.

3. All embargoes imposed by the sides on each other will be lifted accordingly when the cease-fire comes into effect. The delivery of humanitarian aid will not be impeded.

4. A statement by both countries' governments and parliaments on the solution of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh and other disputes and differences exclusively by peaceful methods and by means of talks.

5. To ensure the most complete fulfillment of CSCE decisions and the agreement reached between the Russian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani foreign ministers in Moscow on 20 February 1992, the sides will begin talks on a continuous basis.

6. Both sides can, if they reach agreement, resort to all peaceful methods of settlement, including those not mentioned in the CSCE decision.

Envoy Comments

LD1303223792 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, March 13 TASS—In order to settle the Armenian-Azeri conflict, it is necessary, in the first turn, to provide for cease-fire, disarm combat formations and make the sides sit at the negotiating table, possibly, with participation of third countries, Turkish Ambassador in Moscow Volkan Vural told a news conference here today.

The Turkish Government believes the negotiations should proceed from two major principles: firstly, Nagorno-Karabakh belongs to Azerbaijan, and, secondly, the population of Nagorno-Karabakh must have "certain autonomy" to develop its culture and economy, stressed the ambassador.

Vural confirmed the Turkish interest in peaceful settlement of the conflict and informed correspondents on the NATO approval of the Turkish Karabakh settlement plan.

He also noted the Transcaucasian crisis is nothing but a war between Armenia and Azerbaijan on territory of the latter. He said both sides should be responsible for cease-fire.

Touching on the organization and holding of negotiations, Vural said the cease-fire to precede the negotiations should be done under international control. Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Turkey, Iran, the CSCE chairing country and the U.N. Security Council can take active part in the settlement process.

The ambassador did not exclude a possibility of participation of Nagorno-Karabakh representatives in the negotiations, although, the dialogue, in his opinion, must be conducted between Baku and Yerevan.

The Turkish official also informed corresponds he will meet Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev or his deputy this evening to discuss the Nagorno-Karabakh problems.

Speaking on Turkish relations with conflicting sides, Vural stressed Turkey intends to continue assistance both to Azerbaijan and Armenia, although its aid to the latter provokes dissatisfaction of the Turkish public. In his words, the Turkish authorities strictly control assistance transportation to prevent arms from getting into the conflict area.

Vural expressed fears that the Transcaucasia crisis may acquire religious coloring and then turn into a Christian-Muslim conflict, the major motive forces of which will be fanaticism.

Russia 'Morally Responsible'

OW1303193992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1659 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Turkish ambassador to Moscow believes that Russia is morally responsible for the developments in Nagorno-Karabakh. Ambassador Volkan Vural told journalists on Friday [13 March] that Russia must make its contribution to the settlement of the Armenian-Azeri conflict alongside other countries. Ambassador Vural hopes that he will be able to persuade the Russian authorities to take more resolute steps along these lines.

Vural said that currently Ankara was expecting a reply from the Armenian government to the peace plan for

Nagorno-Karabakh Turkey presented to a CSCE foreign ministers' conference several days ago.

NATO Role in Nagorno-Karabakh Mediation

PM1603091792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 92 Morning Edition pp 1,4

[Report by Yuriy Kovalenko and Aleksandr Sychev: "Will NATO Forces Go To Nagorno-Karabakh? The North Atlantic Cooperation Council Is Prepared to Contribute to a Settlement of the Conflict"]

[Text] "If necessary, NATO would be able to give material support and even place forces at the disposal of the CSCE," NATO Secretary General M. Woerner said at a North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] session in Brussels.

Woerner did not associate NATO's new stance directly with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. What he had in mind primarily was the theoretical possibility of the bloc's participating in any CSCE peacemaking activity to settle conflict situations in Europe. However, the fact that he was speaking during a discussion of the Karabakh problem indirectly confirms that NATO involvement in the region's affairs is not ruled out.

The idea of NATO involvement in the CSCE was broached at the end of last year by Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek. He expressed the view that NATO could act under CSCE auspices if the potential of political mechanisms for the settlement of conflicts was exhausted. Many bloc members found the idea interesting, primarily because, to use Woerner's words, it gives concrete expression to the new concept of NATO's place and role in the security system in Europe.

The Dutch proposal was also backed by U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker. But both he and Woerner made it conditional on the widening of the bloc's functions and the need for agreement among all 16 NATO members, which has not been achieved yet. For instance, there is concern among the members of the North Atlantic Alliance that the bloc could weaken its own positions by taking on extra tasks.

The information from sources in NATO is that the alliance has embarked on a careful study of the experience of UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia. But they point out that there are a number of other problems in the way of NATO's joining the CSCE. In particular, NATO cannot operate outside the territories of the 16 member countries, and it will require the agreement of all the alliance participants to make the requisite amendments to this principle.

A. Kozyrev, head of the Russian foreign policy department, confirmed Russia's intention to continue to act as mediator in the conflict and appealed to his partners to back these efforts. In turn, Turkey proposed giving the CSCE a mediating mission as well, specifically the foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, the country which currently chairs this organization.

The Brussels NACC session also adopted a "working plan to develop dialogue, partnership, and cooperation," which will form the basis of joint activity in the security sphere. The plan includes, in particular, a program for the conversion of the military industry, a new approach to arms control, and joint defense planning.

The meeting participants called for the speediest implementation of the Treaty on the Reduction of Conventional Armed Forces and Armaments in Europe without further negotiations. This means above all that the CIS countries are pledging to observe the treaty in the form it was signed by the USSR.

When the NACC session was over Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev held talks with EC Commission President Jacques Delors, his deputy Frans Andriessen, and EC countries' foreign ministers.

The EC Commission confirmed the intention to give Russia assistance in the process of its transformation into a democratic state and in the creation of a market economic system integrated in the world economy. Both sides agreed to begin preliminary consultations to prepare for official talks on concluding a new bilateral agreement on cooperation in 1992. The treaty will replace the previous agreement between the USSR and the Community.

The talks participants said that the new agreement will go beyond the old document and will cover problems of collaboration in the sphere of trade, finance, and economic cooperation and the development of political dialogue. The new agreement is also supposed to include provisions that will give Russian goods easier access to the Community market.

Iran, Turkey, Ukraine, Kazakhstan Contacted

OW1303192192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1659 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Acting President of Azerbaijan Yakub Mamedov appealed to the Turkish President Turgut Ozal, the Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to help in the political resolution of the Armenian-Azeri conflict and stopping the bloodshed in Nagorno-Karabakh. "INTERFAX" learned that during his telephone conversation with the leaders Thursday [12 March] Mamedov also discussed the latest events in Karabakh, namely the attack on Agdam by the Armenians.

Ozal, Demirel, and Kravchuk expressed concern over the intensified situation and promised to take necessary steps to resolve the conflict.

The same day the Prime Minister of Azerbaijan Ghasan Ghasanov spoke with Turkish leaders, the Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, and the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Ghasanov asked the leaders to draw the attention of the world community to the escalating violence in Nagorno-Karabakh. The presidents of Turkey and Iran were asked to immediately begin talks with the presidents of Russia and Armenia, Boris Yeltsin and Levon Ter-Petrosyan and demand that they take steps to initiate a cease fire in Karabakh.

Tehran Talks on Nagorno-Karabakh Begin

LD1403225392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1439 GMT 14 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran, 14 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Trilateral Iranian-Armenian-Azerbaijani talks on a settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh have started in the Iranian capital with the goal of achieving an agreement on a long-term cease-fire in the region.

Replying to questions from journalists before the meeting, Mahmud Va'ezi, deputy minister of foreign affairs for the Islamic Republic of Iran, stated that he "feels optimistic" on the prospects for the talks organized by Tehran within the context of its mission as a mediator. He noted that the preliminary conversations with representatives of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs "have laid a good foundation." Today, M. Va'ezi said, the main topic is a cease-fire. When this goal has been achieved, we can begin work on a rapprochement of the sides' positions regarding a political settlement to the crisis, the Iranian deputy minister added.

Members of the Armenian delegation, which is headed by Armenian presidential adviser Vahan Papazian, also spoke at the brief news conference. He labeled Iran's plan—according to which the sides that have been drawn into the conflict would gradually progress toward a final resolution of the problem—"positive, constructive and acceptable."

First Stages 'Fruitful'

LD1403230292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1536 GMT 14 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Excerpts] Tehran, 14 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Trilateral Iranian-Armenian-Azerbaijani talks on settling the Nagorno-Karabakh issue began in Tehran today. [passage omitted]

Answering a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, [Armenian delegation leader] V. Papazian said that the first stages of the talks with Iranian officials were "fruitful" and expressed the hope that participants in the meeting would succeed in agreeing to put an end to combat operations in Karabakh.

Papazian doubted that there actually could be a peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis with NATO acting as mediator.

The Azerbaijani delegation, including its leader, republican state adviser Vafa Kulizade; Musa-bek Rasim, adviser to the Azerbaijani president on interethnic relations; and Albert Salamov, Azerbaijani deputy minister of foreign affairs, held no news conference and met no journalists.

According to the Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman, the trilateral talks could last until Sunday [15 March].

SI Group Headed for Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1503073292 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT 15 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Shekhovtsov]

[Text] Madrid, March 15 TASS—The presidium of the Socialist International (SI), whose meeting ended here on Saturday [14 March], decided to send its delegation to Nagorno-Karabakh to promote a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, SI President Willy Brandt and Felipe Gonzalez, Spanish prime minister and SI vice-president, told journalists at a joint news conference.

The future of socialism following the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe was the main subject of discussion at the SI presidium's meeting. Participants in the meeting voiced concern over the situation in a number of ex-Soviet republics and Eastern European countries, SI leaders said.

The lack of stability in that region, Gonzalez emphasised, "is fraught with a threat to the security of the countries of the European Community if it is surrounded with an ocean of problems and poverty".

The SI presidium's meeting, which took place at one of Madrid's fashionable hotels, was attended by 25 SI vice-presidents—former and incumbent heads of state and government, and prominent leaders of political parties.

U.S., NATO Seen as Potential Adversaries

LD1403212192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In trouble spots and zones of national conflicts the CIS Army continues to be a hostage to political problems. After all, the status of the former Union Army, its rights, and duties, have not been defined to this very day. One of the servicemen's organizations—the Union of Officers—was today in Moscow working out its views on the Army's present and future.

The Union of Officers held a meeting today at the Russian Federation parliamentary center. A new model of the Joint Armed Forces consisting of two main components was proposed at the meeting: a Union—central troops and republican troops. Stanislav Serekhov, chairman of the Union of Officers, believes that for as long as other states have strong armies, potential adversaries exist, too. He named the United States and NATO among them. Nor can the possibility that a threat will in future be posed by the Asian-Pacific region, with its center in Japan, be excluded. That is why we are convinced that the country's security can be ensured only by the existence of single army command bodies.

The Union of Officers intends to submit this model of the armed forces for discussion by the CIS heads of states during their meeting in Kiev. Let us hope that our leaders will select what is indeed the most sensible of all the concepts.

Washington's Reaction to Pentagon Report Viewed

LD1603074792 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Station commentary]

[Text] Our following subject is the political euphoria that has gripped some men of influence in Washington today.

This euphoria has been stirred by the report about a new U.S. military and political strategy recently prepared by the Pentagon. The paper formulates an altogether new American military and political doctrine. Indicatively, the doctrine has been contrived in the Pentagon rather than in the Department of State. It claims that from now on the United States has the sole right to run world affairs and guarantee Washington's undisputable dominance in these affairs. As they believe that the former countries of the USSR cannot be Washington's equal partners, Pentagon strategists unequivocally declared that they are unwilling to share their leadership with other nations, their close allies included. According to the document, the United States intends to consolidate the right to determine on its own who or what at each concrete moment threatens not only American interests but those of its allies and friends, whose views however are ignored. More than that, Washington claims the exclusive right to decide which threats could seriously upset international relations and how to counter these threats.

The Pentagon's report is perhaps the only document with such an explicit imperial trend compiled in the past few years. You may wonder what the euphoria has to do with that. Well, it seems that the Pentagon's unrealistic ambitions are above all the result of major difficulties facing the former USSR countries. However, political euphoria is fraught not only with gross errors but with a big danger for those who fall into such euphoria. We may recall in this connection that on receiving the monopoly right to possess an atomic weapon in 1945 some unrealistic American politicians declared that pax Americana had set in. Needless to recall what a price the American people and the whole world had to pay for the exorbitant claims by those politicians. It seemed that just now we are beginning to get out of the quagmire the world had found itself in as a result of the cold war, but it turns out that there are people in the United States who are unable to learn from experience and who revive pax Americana claims.

Such claims are short-sighted and unfeasible. There still is the huge potential of Russia and other states of the former USSR, a potential that will no doubt make it possible to overcome the present-day difficulties. Nor will Tokyo, London, Paris, Beijing, and other capitals jump from joy [as heard] at the Pentagon's ideas, since they are not eager to give Washington the right to determine their future.

It's not by chance that the Pentagon document has no mention of the United Nations, since it does not fit into the concept of those who claim American leadership in the world today. But there is no other way but to cooperate for united peoples in the world today.

PRC Leader Worried About Separatism

PM1603092392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 92 p 3

[A. Kabannikov report: "Bombs in Urumchi"]

[Text] Beijing—Tomur Dawamat, chairman of the Xinjiang Uygur government, has urged the population to resist "hostile forces at home and abroad." Speaking on local television, he stated that these forces "have stepped up the scale of separatist and subversive infiltration, and the changed international situation is having an adverse influence on social stability in the autonomous region." He was referring to events in the former USSR. It is not just that the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has an enormous border with us. Some 60 percent of its 15 million population are ethnic Uighurs, Kazakhs, Tajiks, and Uzbeks.

Now when neighbors have created their own states and Islam is reinforcing its position in them, the separatist aspirations of China's Muslim minorities have been given new impetus and the idea of forming an "East Turkestan Republic" has been revived.

Muslim nationalists have switched from uncoordinated protests to terror. A bus has been blown up in the capital, Urumchi. Five people were killed and 20 injured.

Finland Ready To Accept 'Eastern Refugees'

PM1603101592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 First Edition p 6

[ITAR-TASS report: "Refugees: Jobs in Finland?"]

[Text] Helsinki—The Finnish Housing Ministry is prepared to house refugees from the former USSR, the DEMARI newspaper reports.

According to the newspaper, Housing Minister Pirjo Rusanen has stated that Finland could—at least temporarily—take in and house approximately 200,000 eastern refugees.

Commonwealth

Council of CIS Governments' Heads Meets 13 Mar

TASS Sums Up Meeting

LD1303200892 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—A meeting of the Council of CIS Governments' heads was held on Friday [13 March] in Moscow's President Hotel.

The meeting was attended by government heads from Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Uzbekistan and Ukraine, as well as plenipotentiaries of the governments of Belarus, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. The Azeri representative did not have the authority to sign documents, since the republican government heads failed to arrive in Moscow.

On the proposal of Russian State Secretary and First Russian Government Vice-Premier Gennadiy Burbulis, Kazakh Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko was elected meeting chairman.

Documents on 16 out of 18 agenda issues were coordinated at the meeting and will be signed in the next few hours, CIS Working Group Coordinator Ivan Korotchenya told a news conference on the meeting's results.

The consideration of two other documents (on railway transport and on the organization of economic relations on territory of CIS member-states) has been postponed till the next meeting of states' heads on March 20 in Kiev.

Asked about the foreign debt and assets discussed at the meeting, Russian First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar said "I welcome the agreement that Ukraine in full measure joins the agreements on debt obligations of the former Union. This is an important event for the world fiscal community."

Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin noted experts from "the Seven" countries have contributed a lot to achieving the agreement on this issue. "Their consultations have considerably helped our progress towards the solution of this problem," he said.

"Now the most important thing is that documents adopted today are fulfilled," Kazakh Prime Minister and meeting chairman Sergey Tereshchenko said in conclusion.

Fail To Agree on Commerce, Railways

OW1303202592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The conference of the CIS heads of state has closed in Moscow failing to produce an agreement on the main question on the agenda - a package of resolutions to preserve inter-state economic ties. The discussion has been put off until the CIS summit conference in Kiev, due on March 20. No agreement on railways, one of the 18 other issues on the agenda was concluded.

Asked about the agreement to control the prices of goods supplied under inter-state treaties within the CIS, Russia's Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar said that it applied to a limited list of articles. The agreement would set up a special coordinating body to calculate prices. Gaydar said that the agreement took world prices into account, however, their use would be ruled out as long as the exchange rate of the rouble remained unrealistic. Yegor Gaydar welcomed Ukraine's decision to join in full an agreement on the collective responsibility for the CIS for the USSR foreign debt. He said that the time of debates on the foreign debt issue had been long gone.

The Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin made it clear that Kiev's position was influenced by confidential consultations with officials from the G-7 nations, the main creditors of the former Union.

The leader of the CIS coordinating group, Ivan Korotchenya, said that Azerbaijan was absent from the Moscow conference due to a serious political situation at home.

Discuss Interbank, Scientific Cadres

LD1303185292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Russia and Ukraine will act as guarantors to all creditors when repaying the foreign debt. This was stated today by Russian Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis at a meeting of the heads of government of the CIS republics.

So far the issues of setting up an Interbank Union of the Commonwealth has not been decided. Russia's representatives believe that central banks should decide this issue themselves as the activities of central banks are not within the government's competence.

An agreement on plenipotentiary missions in the CIS republics has not been signed either. As to an agreement on establishing economic links, opinions of republics diverged on the issue of setting up an economic court. Turkmenistan is against setting it up. On the whole the agreement on economic links was approved by all the participants.

An agreement on scientific and technical cooperation was adopted as a whole. A particular opinion was expressed by Yegor Gaydar, a representative of Russia, who noted that Russia will not sign the part of the agreement which deals with training scientific and pedagogic cadres, and with the joint use of scientific facilities.

Meeting 'More Than Successful'

LD1303182892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1540 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Report by station correspondent Valeriy Kiosa]

[Text] The meeting of the CIS Council of Heads of Governments is continuing in Moscow, or perhaps it already has ended. Our correspondent Valeriy Kiosa is there and we shall now get the most precise information.

[Kiosa] I must tell you that literally 20 minutes ago the news conference ended. It was devoted to this meeting of the CIS heads of governments. Although, let me say right away, that the meeting is continuing and the process is now underway to sign the documents that were discussed today. It can be said, however, that the major elements of the meeting already are past.

So, what are the results of today's meeting of the prime ministers? Eighteen questions were examined. Documents on 16 of these are ready for signing. Some six agreements already have been signed. The rest are on the way, as the saying goes. Two documents have been postponed until the meeting of the heads of state on the 20th in Minsk.

Which two documents are these? They are the agreement on the council to coordinate the work of railway transport, and the document concerning economic links between members of the Commonwealth. On the first question, objections were raised by a number of states—Ukraine and Georgia in particular—that the functions and role of such a council are rather reminiscent of the Union Ministry of Railways. On the second document—economic links—you well know how painful and acute this question is and what complicated problems—not only economic but also political—are involved here. Therefore, the prime ministers once again decided to instruct experts to work on this document.

However, other documents were signed which are no less complicated, such as the agreement on pension provision, a joint tax policy, and the servicing of the internal debt. As regards the document on the Soviet Union's external debt and assets, it was confirmed once again just now at the news conference that Ukraine is acceding to the memorandum of the talks with the Group of Seven on joint responsibility for the payment of the debt. In the words of Russian Deputy Prime Minister Gaydar, this is a very important aspect for the world financial community and for the Commonwealth member states. It means that the long, protracted, and fruitless quarrels about who will pay off the Soviet Union's debts and how are virtually ended. Ukrainian Prime Minister Fokin added that one should not ignore the great contribution made by the Group of Seven toward the successful resolution of this question. [Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English at 1600 GMT on 13 March, in a report on the meeting, adds the following: "The heads of government of the republics in the Commonwealth of Independent States have met in Moscow. In a sensational statement, Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin has declared his republic agrees to share the responsibility for the payment of the Soviet foreign debt. Most of the Commonwealth republics formally agreed to share this responsibility late last year. A draft resolution suggests Russia and Ukraine and one other republic, on a rotation basis, co-chair an inter-state council on servicing the Soviet foreign debt."]

Regarding the document on the question of an agreed policy in the sphere of price formation, accord was reached on setting up a coordinating body to study the process of price movements in the Commonwealth. At the same time, it is instructed to prepare a list—a very restricted list, as Gaydar stressed—of goods whose prices will be regulated in interstate deliveries.

Another painful question, which was not resolved today, is the joint customs policy and the formation of a customs union. A number of states, in particular Ukraine and Georgia, came out against this, specifically against the provision that the [customs] union is an independent subject of international law. Thus, the decision was made that the document on the formation of the customs union will be signed by those states which consider its creation necessary. As far as those who do not consider it necessary, they can conclude an ageement with the customs union on a free trade zone.

One more question which interests everyone is Russia's plans to free prices on energy carriers and on oil in particular. As was stated at the news conference, consultations are now underway on these Russian plans. Behind this diplomatic statement lies the fact that many states clearly are not prepared for this step, and consider that it will strike a powerful blow against their economies.

But, however this may be on the whole, many of the prime ministers who spoke today at the news conference and with whom I spoke in the intervals—and these included the prime ministers of Ukraine, Tajikistan, Georgia, Moldova, and Russia—considered this meeting more than successful. The next meeting of the heads of governments will take place on the 20th in Kiev, together with the heads of states. Then at the end of April the prime ministers will meet, it is proposed, in Tashkent.

Discussions 'Surprisingly' Calm

MK1403141592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 1

[Vladimir Strakhov report: "Premiers Had Quiet Session"]

[Text] The CIS countries' heads of government assembled in the conference hall of the President Hotel in Moscow yesterday. Remembering that at the beginning of February a similar meeting ended fruitlessly owing to the low level of the Ukrainian delegation, journalists impatiently looked for the envoys from Kiev. On this occasion Ukrainian Premier V. Fokin sat down at the

negotiating table. Envoys from Georgia headed by T. Sigua were present at the meeting as observers.

Moldovan Premier V. Muravschi issued a statement assessing the latest events in the republic. According to him, separatists from the Dnestr region are pursuing a purposeful policy of bringing Moldova to the point of collapse. At the same time they are establishing illegal armed formations. According to the latest information from Chisinau, five "Grad" installations on the left bank [of the Dnestr] are currently trained on the Moldovan capital.

Quite honestly, after this everyone present in the hall where the session was being held expected a heated discussion about every point on the agenda. But the conference proceeded surprisingly calmly. Admittedly, it was noticeable that whenever there were demands for an explanation of Russia's position, the republic's vice premier, Ye. Gaydar, by way of comment, constantly glanced over at the Ukrainian delegation. But the Ukrainians hardly took any part in the discussions. At first glance, many of those who had expected a tough line from Ukraine were puzzled. But it turned out that the secret lay in the bilateral talks between Russia and Ukraine that had been held on the eve of the conference.

And so there were discussions about agreements on guarantees of citizens' rights in the sphere of pension provision, on principles of customs policy, and on coordinating policy in the tax sphere. A whole package of documents relating to scientific and technical cooperation was examined. Protocols on establishing an interstate commission for food imports, forming a committee for internationalist servicemen's affairs, and forming a sports council were signed. As far as repaying the former USSR's foreign debt is concerned, Russia and Ukraine—the largest debtors—are to act as guarantors to Western creditors. These two republics account for approximately 80 percent of the former USSR's foreign debt.

The only document that Ukraine categorically refused to sign was a statute relating to the executive committee of the Council for Rail Transport. According to V. Fokin, the council is reminiscent of the structures of the defunct USSR Ministry of Railways, which his republic cannot agree to.

The discussion about the issue of economic ties provoked a lively response. All the delegations noted that an interstate arbitration organ is needed to resolve economic disputes.

The results of the meeting can on the whole be regarded as positive. The premiers "took pity" on their presidents and did not leave them to deal with economic problems, resolving them themselves. So yes, in Kiev the military theme will clearly be uppermost. And God grant that the decisions that were made yesterday begin to take effect and do not just remain duly signed pieces of paper.

Gaydar Welcomes Ukraine Agreement

LD1303184392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Out of 18 points on the agenda for today's meeting of the CIS Council of Heads of Government, documents have been agreed on 16 items, and these will be signed in the next few hours. This was announced at a news conference on the outcome of the meeting by Ivan Korotchenya, coordinator for the CIS Working Group. Two documents of the 18—on rail transport and on the organization of economic ties on the territory of the CIS states—have been postponed until the next meeting of head of state in Kiev on 20 March.

Asked about the foreign debt and assets which were discussed by the heads of government, Russian First Deputy Prime Minister [as received] Yegor Gaydar said: "I welcome the accord which has been reached whereby Ukraine fully accedes to the treaties on the former Union's debt obligations." "This is an important event for the whole world financial community," he emphasized. Ukraine Prime Minister Vitold Fokin for his part remarked that experts from the "Big Seven" had contributed greatly to the attainment of this accord, adding that "consultations with them brought us significantly closer to solving this problem".

Gaydar on Economic Proposals

LD1403031192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] It has already been revealed that a regular meeting of CIS heads of states was held at the President Hotel in Moscow on 13 March. The packed agenda, which included 18 issues, was virtually fulfilled with the exception of a number of documents to be discussed on 20 March in Kiev. Our correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov reports:

[Begin recording] [Osipov] Whether it was due to the fact that the premiers were worn out, that the economy cannot stand this situation any more, or that the documents were thoroughly worked out, all these factors resulted in a meeting that was carried out without any great contradictions. The heads of states agreed on external debt payments. Ukraine and Russia will from now on be the guarantors when dealing with the Western creditors. A third co-chairman from each individual republic will join them. An agreement on the internal debt was also signed at this meeting, i.e., on payments in relation to the obligations that the USSR took upon itself in its time in relation to its citizens—because of its distintegration, these obligations were not fulfilled.

According to Russian First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, the signing of this document will save the savings banks from going bankrupt. Consensus was reached on an

agreement on standards, on scientific-technical cooperation, and on a protocol on the composition of a commission for imports. A mutual understanding was even reached on the issue of sports: I mean the creation of a CIS council for sports. This structure is a provisional measure. It has been created for the sake of taking part in the Olympic Games. The ministers consider that it is easier to achieve victory by doing this together than by each individual republic doing this on its own. Maybe this understanding will also come about in the economic sphere. One can only hope that this will happen.

So far, Ukraine is not signing the document on a council for railway transport. Vitold Fokin sees a revival of the recently defunct Ministry of Railways in this structure.

A disagreement also occurred when an agreement on the organization of economic ties was being discussed. Turkmenistan on the whole supports this document but is against setting up an economic court. Ukraine thinks that such ties should be strengthened on a bilateral basis. Russia also has its own opinion. It was put forward by Yegor Gaydar:

[Gaydar] There is the issue of resolving property claims between enterprises, which according to the text of this document are not within the jurisdiction of the economic court; and there is the issue of the settlement of economic claims between states, which is an important one. Yet this is not directly related to the regulation of economic ties in the sphere of deliveries. In connection with this, we propose the following: We agree in principle that this document should be adopted, the first one and the second, [word indistinct] to divide into two issues. The first is about the economic court. We are in favor of the creation of an economic court, but we will make this a separate issue and we will not link it to the issue of deliveries. It will be discussed separately. Second, it is necessary without any delay to finalize a document which was actually put forward by Russia and which has been mentioned here: The document is about a mechanism for regulating property claims between enterprises. The governments are not worrying about the economic court but about a coordinating arbitration body which will resolve conflicting economic claims. This is what should be in principle put down as a third document in addition to what we already have here.

[Osipov] I can say in conclusion that a number of the meeting's participants came to the opinion that though the agenda was packed, not all the issues were of such great importance that they needed to be discussed at a meeting of such a level. [end recording]

Moldovan Premier on 'Conflict'

LD1303185492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] At the conference of CIS Heads of Government today, Moldovan Prime Minister Muravschi spoke of Moldova's request to the United Nations to send observers to the region. He also asked the leaders of Russia and Ukraine to send observers. Muravschi discussed the Moldovan leadership's plan to resolve this conflict.

According to its plan, all rayons of the left bank area should be united in one uyezd with Dubossary as its capital. It can be given the status of a free economic zone.

Officials Discuss Meeting

LD1403215992

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1630 GMT on 14 March carries a 30-minute edition of its regularly scheduled "Mayak" news and analysis program, including a 22-minute review of the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March.

The program, hosted by Valeriy Kiosa, includes recorded comments on the meeting by Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin; Vladimir Mashits, chairman of the Russian committee for economic cooperation with CIS countries; Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi; Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua; and Dzhamshed Karimov, Tajik first deputy prime minister.

Kiosa opens the review by recounting the results of the meeting and the contents of the agreements that were initialed.

Fokin then comments on the meeting, saying, "It is very difficult to consider each state's full independence on issues of creating their own credit and finance systems with the need to coordinate somehow the issues of creating a price mechanism. I do not hide the fact that we are very concerned at the intentions of, say, individual states to aim at world price levels very soon; it is necessary to grow to such a level, and it has not yet happened. I propose that it be necessary to aim only at contractual prices. Some of them—and do not let this frighten the supporters of exclusively market relations—some of these prices should be fixed, or regulated, at least, for otherwise we will not escape the vicious circle. Inadequate price increases will have an effect on fuel; there will be immediate reaction, a boomerang in response. Retail prices will rise three, four, five times, and this will bring in its wake a situation where all the imaginary advantages of increasing prices for energy will be immediately canceled."

At 1634 GMT, Mashits says that the Ukrainian position is understandable, namely, that they do not wish to hurry with these price rises. Ukraine is not the only state to hold such a position, he suggests. As a result, Mashits adds, "We are continuing in accordance with our old plan—that we must agree on a small list of the most important goods which determine prices in the entire economy. With this, we will agree on a coefficient for which world prices will be a basis. This agreed coefficient is necessary, translating the dollar price into a ruble price."

At 1637 GMT, Muravschi discusses prices, saying: "Clearly, it was impossible to go to bed at night with the national price structure which existed until recently and to wake up to world prices. This is fraught with major complications. Let's take a few: For example, Russia's intention to raise—to raise sharply—the price of fuel and their proposal to raise it to world price levels very soon. Of course, this makes the economic situation in every energy consuming republic considerably more difficult. It will disrupt these republics' economies. Let's look at Moldova's agricultural production: We pass around 60 percent of agricultural production—food—to Russia—that is, we are cutting off the branch on which we are all sitting. Therefore, we support another way, namely a stage-by-stage transfer to world prices taking into account the restructuring of the economy in every republic. On the other hand, we support participation in developing one industry or another, Russia's as well, say the oil and gas extraction industry, participation in concrete actions, construction capacities, food supply, investments in this industry."

Kiosa reports that a coordinating council on prices will be created and will draw up a list of regulated prices, before moving to the "sensational" news that Ukraine will pay its share of the USSR's foreign debt.

Fokin explains: "It was possible to get rid of the basic disagreements; it was possible to come to an agreement on the fundamental questions of mutual responsibility for paying the foreign debt. Each republic has a number of votes proportional to that republic's part of the debt. For example, Russia has 61.7 percent of the total amount, so Russia has a quota of 61.7 percent of the votes. Ukraine's share is around 16.5 percent. The decisions will be made only with a qualified majority. This quota was raised to 80 percent, which deprives any of the republics which signed the memorandum of advantages."

Kiosa notes that this 80 percent quota not only means that no one republic can dictate its conditions but also stops Russia and Ukraine from uniting to block any decisions which do not suit them.

At 1642 GMT, Mashits expresses his pleasure with the way the meeting went, saying that many of the documents were agreed without any major changes. He says, "On the whole, I consider that a normal working meeting is taking place. Everything corresponds to our plans completely. No less important is the recognition of an ever deeper mutual economic dependence on each other; therefore, everyone prefers to make agreements and not begin any economic wars with each other."

Fokin notes, "I thought on the way to the meeting that it would be both intense and protracted because there were 18 issues on the agenda, each of which could draw out discussions for many long hours. However, all the republics are showing patience. They understand the need to achieve a clear consensus on at least some constructive principles. All the issues were examined fairly quickly, and the decisions adopted completely satisfy me, personally, except for certain issues on which Ukraine expressed principled disagreement; for example, the issue of organizing an interstate coordinating body to administer railways. The draft offered for examination today did not satisfy the Ukrainian delegation at all and even put it on its guard because it envisages certain attributes which make this body very, very similar to the railway ministry that remains fresh in our memory. Therefore, we did not reject the idea itself. We remained faithful to the document signed in Minsk. We said that it is necessary to deprive this body of any functions of authority which would recall the monopoly of the former railways ministry."

Muravschi then comments: "It seems to me that a kind of awakening process is occurring which takes into account the reality in which we find ourselves, the reality of our life. There are attempts—or rather, aspirations—to resolve the issues which today prevent every state's economy from stabilizing. We are so integrated that it is impossible to survive—at the present stage, at least—without the preservation and regulation of economic links, particularly at the level of the subjects' economies. I am a supporter, in general, of the withdrawal—the maximum withdrawal—of the government and the state from the administration of these processes. On the other hand, I must say that unfortunately I think that, nevertheless, politics have for the time being such influence on the heads of government. This is why I think that they are bound in adopting those decisions which they would like and are able to adopt."

Sigua then comments: "At earlier sessions, all questions scraped by; today, everything seemed to go smoothly, without particular opposition. However, I think that there is the tendency here again to renew centralized bodies. This is probably not right. It is necessary to agree on common principles. Creating centralized bodies for all sectors—this includes the railways, pension provision, and a single Olympic committee.... [changes thought] Then why was it necessary to dissolve them? They then discussed price formation, primarily on fuel and energy resources. This economic issue was clearly the focus of attention. However, this was to be expected since life forces it.... [changes thought] When there is no oil, no fuel oil, no gasoline, no energy resources, then political issues sometimes drop to second place. This is clearly felt today."

Karimov then says, "I consider that today there is an ever greater understanding of the fact that we must really create a commonwealth of independent states, and most importantly today economic problems simply force political ambitions to be thrown aside so as to work on specific issues connected with raising the standard of living."

At 1652 GMT, Kiosa concludes the review by noting that "the economy is beginning to claim its rights" despite political differences.

TASS Carries CIS Documents Adopted 13 Mar

Agreement on Scientific Ties

LD1503144792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0701 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Agreement on scientific ties" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Agreement on direct scientific-technical ties in the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States

The governments of the states participating in the present agreement, in accordance with the agreement on interstate scientific-technical cooperation,

Recognizing the necessity of supporting and developing mutually beneficial direct scientific-technical ties between enterprises, organizations, and individual subjects of the states participating in the agreement,

Confirming the desire by the states participating in the agreement to expand mutual scientific-technical ties on a long-term basis,

Respecting the aspiration of scholars and specialists for direct and free scientific-technical contacts and exchanges,

Have agreed the following:

Section 1. General Provisions

Article 1

Under direct scientific-technical ties we mean direct scientific-technical cooperation between scholars, inventors, scientific and planning-designing organizations, and other organizations and enterprises of the states participating in the present agreement.

Direct scientific-technical ties can be established on noncommercial and commercial bases.

Article 2

Exchange of scientific-technical information (publications), acquaintance with scientific and production achievements by sending specialists on reciprocal business trips, participation in scientific congresses and symposia, training of specialists, and the organization of exhibitions and fairs and so on and so forth can be implemented on a noncommercial basis.

Article 3

The following are the main forms of commercial scientific-technical ties:

Transfer of scientific-technical knowledge and technologies (inventions, "know-how," etc.) on a licensing basis;

Conducting joint research and planning and design work;

Implementation of commissioned scientific-research work;

Implementation of "engineering" type of work;

Scientific-technical cooperation in the framework of joint ventures;

Transfer of technology when constructing "turnkey" enterprises.

Besides the above, direct scientific-technical ties can be established also on the basis of other new forms of scientific-technical cooperation as they appear.

Section 2. Obligations of the States Participating in the Agreement on Ensuring Direct Scientific-Technical Ties

Article 4

The states participating in the agreement are obliged to support in every way the establishment and development of direct scientific-technical ties between scientists, inventors, enterprises, and organizations of the states participating in the agreement.

Article 5

The states participating in the agreement will support the interested organizations and enterprises, within the framework of relevant national laws and rules, in their search for opportunities to expand direct scientific-technical ties.

Article 6

The states participating in the agreement are obliged to elaborate national legislation that creates favorable economic, legal, and organizational conditions for the establishment of direct scientific-technical ties.

Section 3. Procedure of Establishing and Registering Direct Scientific- Technical Ties

Article 7

Direct scientific-technical ties are established at the initiative of involved parties, organizations, and enterprises following the procedure established in each state on agreeing with other states participating in the agreement.

Article 8

Direct scientific-technical ties are registered by a treaty or an agreement signed by cooperating parties. The treaties or agreements are composed by cooperating parties on the basis of pro forma (standard) treaties and agreements approved by the MNTS.

Article 9

The following are the main types of pro forma treaties and agreements that mediate direct scientific-technical ties:
Pro forma licensing treaty;

Pro forma treaty on conducting joint scientific research (or joint use of scientific-technical installations);
Pro forma treaty on conducting commissioned scientific-research and experimental design work;
Pro forma agreement on setting up provisional interstate scientific-technical collectives and laboratories;
Pro forma treaty on providing "engineering" or other types of services.

Article 10

Treaties and agreements concluded should reflect the conditions for the establishment of direct scientific-technical links: the subject of the treaty, the guarantees and responsibility of both sides, financing and taxation matters, the rights to industrial and intellectual property, the influence of changed circumstances on the agreement, the procedure for resolving disputes, the term of validity of the treaty, and the conditions for its dissolution.

Article 11

In treaties and agreements concluded it is prohibited to employ various kinds of restrictions placing the participants in an unequal position.

Section 4. Final Provisions

Article 12

The present agreement is concluded for a term of five years and enters into force from the moment it is signed. Its validity may be extended by the mutual agreement of member states.

Article 13

The agreement is open for accession by other states.

Article 14

Participation in the agreement does not limit the rights of the states signing it to participate in any other bilateral and multilateral forms of interstate cooperation in the sphere of securing direct scientific-technical links.

Completed in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is to be kept in the archives of the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy to the states that have signed this agreement.

* * *

The agreement has been signed by representatives of the governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

Agreement on Taxation Policy

LD1403203892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0710 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Agreement on Taxation Policy" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March] [Text] [No dateline as received]—**Agreement on Taxation Policy**

Agreement Among the Governments of the CIS States on the Principles of Taxation Policy

The Governments of the CIS states—henceforth referred to as "parties"—realize the need to implement coordinated and radical economic reforms. In this respect, they have considered the growing role taxes play as fully fledged market mechanisms develop. They also wish to refrain from actions which harm each other's economies. Therefore, they have agreed on the following:

Article 1. The parties contract to conduct a harmonized taxation policy based on unification of the principles and rules of taxation and to apply a unified list of basic taxes affecting the interests of all Commonwealth states, with a view to ensuring incentives for investment and other forms of financial and economic activity on the territory of all CIS states. The parties will apply the following basic taxes on their territory:
(A) Direct taxes:
—tax on profits (revenue) of enterprises, associations, organizations, and their subsidiaries irrespective of the form of ownership;
—individual income tax;
(B) Indirect taxes:
—value-added tax [VAT];
—excise duties.

Article 2. By narrowing differences and standardizing legislation, the parties will coordinate, as a minimum, the following provisions of legislation on taxes mentioned in Article 1 of this agreement:
A. Regarding tax on profits (income) of enterprises, associations, organizations, and their subsidiaries, they will coordinate the regulations for determining subjects and objects of taxation and procedures for calculating overheads on production and marketing of output.
B. Regarding individual income tax, they will coordinate the principles for defining taxable income and nontaxable income.
C. Regarding VAT, they will coordinate the application of a single tax rate and standardized procedures for the calculation and payment of this tax.

Article 3. The parties will levy excise duties on an agreed list of goods at agreed rates and employ a unified procedure for calculation and payment of the tax. Excise revenue is paid into the budgets of those CIS states which imposed it.

Article 4. In accordance with the 8 December 1991 agreement setting up the CIS, the parties will ensure compliance with agreements previously concluded by the USSR with foreign states for avoiding dual taxation on income and property. New agreements on this among parties to this agreement and with third states will be concluded and implemented by each of the parties in its own right.

Article 5. To devise a mechanism for implementing the provisions of Articles 2, 3, and 4 of the present agreement, the parties have agreed to form joint groups of experts to submit proposals to the council of heads of government.

Article 6. This agreement comes into force from the moment the third notice is lodged at the depository, confirming that all appropriate state procedures required to bring it into force have been met. The government of the depository state will within 10 days give written notification of this to the governments of countries which are parties to the present agreement.

Concluded in Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original will be held in the archives of the Republic of Belarus Government, which will send an attested copy to states which have signed the present agreement.

The agreement has been signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

Agreement on Plenipotentiary Missions

LD1503110792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Agreement on the independent states' plenipotentiary missions" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—**Agreement on the independent states' plenipotentiary missions**

The governments of the state participants of the present agreement, proceeding from the necessity of ensuring effective coordination of mutually advantageous cooperation between the independent states based on equal rights, have agreed the following.

Article 1

The governments of the state participants of the agreement have the right to have a plenipotentiary mission of the given state in the capitals of the other state participants of the present agreement.

Article 2

The status of the plenipotentiary missions is determined by appropriate bilateral agreements concluded in accordance with generally accepted international practice.

Article 3

The agreement comes into force upon being signed. Made in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in a single copy in the Russian language. The original copy is to be stored in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus which will send a certified copy of it to the states signing the present agreement.

* * *

The agreement was signed by representatives of the governments of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

Scientific-Technical Facilities Joint Use

LD1503130992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Agreement on Joint Use of Scientific-Technical Facilities Within the Framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March]

[Text] [No dateline as received]

AGREEMENT ON JOINT USE OF SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL FACILITIES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES

The governments of states participating in the present agreement, in accordance with Article 4 of the agreement of 8 December 1991 setting up the Commonwealth of Independent States and Article 19 of the agreement of 13 March 1992 on interstate scientific-technical cooperation in the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States, for the purposes of devising practical measures to ensure the effective and mutually beneficial joint use of scientific-technical facilities and the development of scientific-technical potential in priority areas for science and scientific-technical progress, have agreed the following.

Article 1. Any scientific-technical facility whose resources or the results of whose activities are utilized by several states acquires the status of a joint-use facility solely with the assent of its proprietor.

Article 2. Questions concerning joint use of scientific facilities and of the products of scientific-technical activities are resolved on the basis of the criterion of providing for research in priority areas of scientific-technical progress for each state and taking account of the possibility of their being developed and implemented jointly.

Article 3. Facilities deemed to be joint-use facilities are: central libraries and state scientific information systems and resources. States participating in the agreement on scientific-technical cooperation are granted use of the above-mentioned facilities free of charge for a period of five years. A list of additional scientific-technical facilities for use is to be compiled, endorsed and reviewed by the Interstate Scientific-Technical Council on the basis of proposals from the parties.

Article 4. The parties acknowledge the necessity to ensure that joint-use facilities, when operating as such, are provided with the material and financial resources to do so, from various sources and in quantities to be

determined by each party. The above-mentioned facilities are to be financed by the states where they are located.

Article 5. The juridical regulation of the use of additional joint-use scientific-technical facilities is to be effected on the basis of the parties' legislation in the field of state scientific-technical policy, economic and scientific-technical activities, protection of intellectual and industrial property and similar matters.

Article 6. The participants in the agreement will ensure non-contradiction between legislative acts in force or being drafted in this sphere, doing so on the basis of generally accepted norms of international law.

Article 7. Financial and material-technical support for additional joint-use scientific-technical facilities is to be made on a parity basis and in shares (amounts) reflecting the end-use of the work and the requirements of the parties.

Article 8. Financing, operation and use of the results of activities at the facilities in question is to be carried out on a contractual basis among the appropriate organizations of the parties involved.

Article 9. The present agreement is concluded for a term of five years and comes into force from the moment it is signed. It may be extended by mutual agreement among the parties.

Article 10. The agreement is open for other states to accede to.

Article 11. Participation in the agreement does not restrict the rights of signatory states to participate in any other bilateral and multilateral forms of interstate cooperation in the area of joint use of scientific-technical facilities.

Concluded in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original is to be lodged in the archive of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send an attested copy to states which have signed the present agreement.

* * *

The agreement has been signed by representatives of the governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Agreement on Scientific Personnel

LD1503152592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Agreement on scientific personnel" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Agreement on cooperation in the sphere of training of scientific and scientific teaching personnel and the recognition of documents on their qualifications within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States

Taking the agreement on interstate scientific and technical cooperation within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States as a basis,

Recognizing the need to maintain cooperation in the sphere of the training of scientific and scientific teaching personnel and the recognition of documents on their qualifications,

The governments of the participant states of the present agreement have agreed on the following:

Section 1. General provisions

Article 1

The participant states of the agreement coordinate national conceptions and requirements among themselves regarding the training and examination of specialists with higher education and scientific and scientific teaching staff.

Article 2

Within the framework of the agreement the participant states: supply personnel for interstate programs (basic research, scientific and technical research, development and mastery of new technologies, and other interstate programs);

Carry out purpose-specific training of personnel with higher scientific qualifications and organize work experience for scientific staff;

Evolve, introduce, and perfect a system of recognition of documents on the qualifications of scientific and scientific teaching staff.

Article 3

The procedure for coordinating the interaction of the states within the framework of this agreement is established by the Interstate Scientific-Technical Council (MNTS)

Section 2. Training of scientific and scientific teaching staff

Article 4

The participant states of the agreement undertake:

To set up legal, economic, and organizational conditions guaranteeing equal rights and responsibility in the training of scientific and scientific teaching staff for all the participant states of the agreement;

To provide conditions for persons from other states to earn masters and doctors degrees without discrimination.

Article 5

An equivalent exchange not involving hard currency is possible for the sending of exchange students, masters candidates, doctorate candidates, and scientific personnel by one state to another for training and acquisition of additional vocational skills on the basis of bilateral treaties on scientific and technical cooperation between these states.

Section 3. Purpose-specific training of personnel with higher scientific qualifications and the organization of scientific exchanges in the interests of other participant states

Article 6

The participant states of the agreement give training to personnel with higher scientific qualifications in the interests of other participant states according to a list of specialities recognized as basic for the given state. The basic specialities for which training is given in the interests of other states are ratified at a session of the MNTS.

Article 7

Purpose-specific training of personnel with higher scientific qualifications and the organization of exchanges of scientific personnel in the interests of other participant states of the agreement is carried out, as a rule, in accordance with interstate programs. The organization of exchanges of scientists in the interests of other participant states is carried out on a bilateral basis with a definition of the rights and duties of the delegating and receiving parties.

Section 4. Procedure and conditions of recognition of documents on qualifications of scientific and scientific teaching personnel

Article 8

The participant states of the agreement undertake obligations concerning the mutual recognition of documents on the qualifications of scientific and scientific teaching personnel.

Article 9

The participant states of the agreement recognize the validity of the results of the examination of scientific and scientific teaching personnel carried out by the supreme examination commission under the USSR Council of Ministers, as well as other ministries and departments. In accordance with the list of specialities agreed by the participant states of the agreement, each of them is entitled to present demands for the confirmation of qualifications of scientific and scientific teaching personnel in accordance with the rules operating in its territory.

Article 10

The participant states of the agreement guarantee the right of citizens possessing academic degrees and honors of the former USSR to undergo reregistration according to the procedures established by the legislation of each state.

Article 11

The procedure and conditions of recognition of documents on qualifications of scientific and scientific teaching personnel are to be established after the adoption by the states participating in the agreement of their own systems of training and examination of scientific and scientific teaching personnel.

Section 5. Concluding Provisions

Article 12

This agreement is concluded for a term of five years and comes into force from the moment of its signing. Its validity can be extended on the mutual agreement of the participant states.

Article 13

The agreement is open for other states to join.

Article 14

Participation in the agreement does not limit the rights of the states that have signed it to participation in any other bilateral and multilateral forms of interstate cooperation in the sphere of training and examination of scientific and scientific teaching personnel.

Completed in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is to be kept in the archives of the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy to the states that have signed this agreement.

* * *

The agreement has been signed by representatives of the governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

Foreign Debt Agreement

LD1403143192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0810 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Agreement on Additions to the Treaty on Succession Concerning the Foreign State Debt and Assets of the USSR

Confirming their commitment to the fulfillment of their obligations which proceed from the treaty on legal succession concerning the foreign state debt and assets of the USSR adopted on 4 December 1991, the states joined in this treaty have agreed on the following:

Article 1

As the main members of the interstate council for monitoring the servicing of the debt and the use of the USSR's assets, the Russian Federation and Ukraine are co-chairmen of the interstate council. Other members of the interstate council appoint a third co-chairman on the basis of rotation.

Article 2

The authorized bank provides full information on its operations to the interstate council and its members.

The interstate council appoints an independent auditor on a competitive basis who is provided with any documentation of the authorized bank which he may need for drawing up a report submitted to the interstate council at least once a year.

Article 3

The Foreign Economic Bank retains its rights as authorized bank. The relevant alterations are being made to the Foreign Economic Bank's charter. They are listed in the supplement to the present agreement to lend the authorized bank international status. The interstate council, at which the sides are represented with plenipotentiary powers, remains the highest body for the authorized bank. The interstate council sets up a standing observer body at the level of experts, to be located in Moscow.

The votes of plenipotentiary respresentatives on the interstate council are distributed in accordance with the proportionate burden borne by the sides in contributions to pay off the state debt of the former USSR. Decisions of the interstate council are adopted by no less than 80 percent of the votes of council members taking part in sessions. Sessions of the interstate council have valid authority when plenipotentiary representatives with at least 80 percent of the votes are present at them.

Article 4

The powers and functions of the interstate commission to work out criteria and principles in relation to the distribution of all the property of the former USSR abroad are transferred to the interstate council and the activity of the commission is terminated.

Article 5

The memorandum on mutual understanding of 28 October 1991 will be open for signing on behalf of the governments of the states joined in the present agreement who have not signed the aforementioned memorandum.

Article 6

The present agreement comes into force from the moment of its signing. It was completed in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is being kept in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy of it to the states which have signed this agreement.

The agreement has been signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan and Ukraine.

The following document is appended to the agreement:

The Position of the Republic of Uzbekistan's Delegation Regarding the Draft Agreement on Additions to the Treaty on Legal Succession in Respect of the USSR's Foreign State Debt and Its Assets

1. The agreement's preamble confirms the adherence of the agreement's participants to fulfillment of the obligations stemming from the 4 December 1991 treaty on legal succession in respect of the USSR's foreign state debt and its assets. Uzbekistan did not sign that treaty in connection with differences over the methodology for apportiooning the foreign debt (disagreement with the overall figure).

2. The Republic of Uzbekistan is unable to agree with the proposed procedure for the adoption of decisions by the Interstate Council (the decisions are adopted under Article 3 of the agreement by no less than 80 percent of the votes of the council members taking part in a session). Russia with 61.34 percent of the votes has the potential to block any decision.

3. The provisions of this agreement are at variance with the provisions of the joint communique on the results of the interstate consultative conference on questions of creating the necessary conditions for the timely fulfillment of the debt liabilities of the former USSR, which was signed on 25 February 1991 in Kiev. It is envisaged to remove the USSR Foreign Economic Bank from the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. The present agreement is restricted only in the sense that the co-chairmen will propose the candidature of the bank's deputy chairman on questions of servicing the foreign debt.

Arising from this, we consider it impossible to sign the agreement, and also the protocol on foreign debt and assets and the Charter of the Interstate Council.

At the same time, this does not signify a refusal on the part of the Republic of Uzbekistan to take part in clearing off the foreign debt.

Rules of the Interstate Council on Supervising the Servicing of the Debt and Use of the Assets of the USSR

Article 1

The interstate council to supervise the servicing of the debt and the use of the assets of the USSR is set up in accordance with the treaty on legal succession with regard to the external state debt and assets of the USSR

(hereinafter referred to as the Treaty) with the aim of resolving all questions connected with servicing and repaying the USSR's external debt, and also with managing the foreign currency debts owed to the USSR and other assets of the USSR and their sale.

The interstate council is created from plenipotentiary representatives of the parties to the Treaty. Any party which unilaterally halts debt-servicing payments without the agreement of the other parties which are members of the interstate council loses the right to a deciding vote in the interstate council and, until it resumes payments and makes up the incurred indebtedness, acquires the status of observer.

The interstate council is the supreme body of administration of the USSR Foreign Economic Bank (the authorized bank), which fulfills the functions of an agent of the parties which have signed the treaty, in questions of administering the debt and assets of the former USSR. The interstate council, at the level of experts, is creating a standing supervisory body located in Moscow. (A special unit will be set aside at the Foreign Economic Bank which is independent of any state and which is responsible exclusively for the servicing of the foreign debt, with clearly defined powers).

Article 2

The members of the interstate council are appointed by the supreme executive bodies of the sovereign states.

The co-chairmen of the interstate council are the authorized representatives of the Russian Federation and Ukraine, and a third co-chairman is appointed on the basis of rotation from among the authorized representatives of other parties.

Article 3

The parties grant the interstate council powers on the following questions, connected with the implementation of the treaty:
monitoring the fulfillment of commitments regarding the debt of the USSR and the distribution of the assets of the USSR in accordance with the treaty; holding an inventory and an appraisal of the debts and assets of the USSR;
adopting decisions on the operative regulation of the commitments regarding the debt of the USSR and the distribution of the assets of the USSR;
carrying out the reorganization of the USSR Foreign Economic Bank without prejudicing credit agreements which have been concluded;
implementing the monitoring of the activity of the standing supervisory body;
attracting independent financial and juridical consultants;
examining other issues which have been tabled for discussion by the interstate council the initiative of the parties, the supervisory body or the board of the authorized bank.

Article 4

Votes in the Interstate Council are distributed between its members in proportion to the shares specified for each of the sides under Article 4 of the Treaty, and by additional agreements between the sides.

The Interstate Council is empowered to adopt decisions on issues submitted for its consideration, if Interstate Council members representing in total no less than 80 percent of the votes of the sides which signed the Treaty are taking part in a sitting.

Decisions of the Interstate Council are adopted by a qualified majority of 80 percent of the votes represented by the Interstate Council members taking part in a sitting.

The sides which signed the Treaty are entitled to a deciding vote in the Interstate Council.

Parties which have not signed the Treaty have the right to participate in the work of the Interstate Council as observers.

Article 5

A working apparatus is being set up to organize the current activity of the Interstate Council. The activity of the Interstate Council and its working apparatus is financed by the parties on a shared basis in proportion to the payments to pay off the external debt.

Article 6

The Interstate Council ceases its activities after the fulfilment of the Treaty.

* * *

The Rules were signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine.

PROTOCOL on foreign debt and assets

The Governments of the Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Georgia, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, the Republic of Uzbekistan, and Ukraine have agreed the following.

1. To entrust the Interstate Council with supervising the servicing of the USSR's debt and the use of its assets with regard to submitting proposals directed at enhancing the efficiency of the work of the Interstate Council, including the allocation to it of essential funds, the setting up of the working apparatus, and other matters, for consideration by the regular sitting of the Council of Commonwealth Heads of Government.

2. To instruct the Interstate Council to present within one month to the Council of the Heads of Government

of the Commonwealth, information on the existing assets of the former USSR abroad.

Completed in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in a single original copy in Russian. The original copy is being kept in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send an authorized copy to the states who have signed the said protocol.

* * *

The protocol has been signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Ukraine.

Scientific-Technical Cooperation Agreement

LD1503112592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0820 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Agreement on scientific-technical cooperation" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Agreement on scientific-technical cooperation in the framework of the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States

The governments of the states participating in the present agreement, hereinafter referred to as the parties,

proceeding from considerations of long-term interests related to the need to preserve and further develop the scientific-technical potential of each of the parties;

taking into account the existence of highly integrated elements of scientific-technical potential, and of the scientific-technical links that have been forged and the inadmissibility of their being uncontrollably destroyed;

recognizing the expediency of interstate coordination in the scientific-technical sphere;

for the purposes of pursuing an agreed policy on science and technology;

have agreed the following:

Section 1. General Provisions

Article 1

Within the framework of interstate scientific-technical cooperation the parties:
determine priority directions for joint scientific-technical activity;
determine and select forms of joint scientific-technical activity;
provide state support for joint scientific research and development;
shape interstate programs;
regulate the setting up and operation of scientific-technical facilities intended for joint use;
cooperate in the training of graduate specialists and scientific and scientific-technical personnel, and of protecting intellectual property and the exchange of scientific-technical information.

Article 2

The parties undertake:
to implement support for fundamental research;
to coordinate international scientific-technical links in agreed priority areas of science and technology development;
to establish legal, economic, and organizational conditions guaranteeing equal rights and the responsibilty of all organizations, enterprises, and citizens participating in interstate scientific-technical cooperation;
to seek to achieve compatibility of legal norms regulating scientific-technical activity;
to create conditions for the development of direct scientific-technical links among academics and scientific collectives and organizations in the member states;
to conduct consultations and exchange information among administrative state bodies responsible for the shaping and implementation of scientific-technical policy;
to ensure coordination in protection systems for industrial property, scientific-technical information, establishment of standards, metrology, and certification;
to ensure the compatibility of statistical indicators in the sphere of scientific-technical activity;
to cooperate in conducting scientific-technical expert appraisals.

Article 3

For coordination of joint action by states within the framework of the present agreement, an Interstate Scientific-Technical Council [Mezhgosudarstvennyy Nauchno-Tekhnicheskiy Sovet—MNTS] is to be established. Its functions, working bodies, and location are to be determined by a proposal from the MNTS and endorsed by the council of heads of government of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Section 2. Interstate Programs

Article 4

Interstate cooperation in resolving complex scientific-technical problems is to take the form of:
interstate programs of fundamental research;
interstate scientific-technical programs;
interstate programs and projects for development and assimilation of new technologies;
other interstate programs and projects.

Article 5

A state is deemed to be a participant in an interstate program if it has set designated resources for that program, the types and amounts of which have to be agreed with other participants in the program. Each state participates in a specified program on a voluntary basis.

Article 6

General principles for designating, implementing, and financing programs are determined by the provisions for interstate programs and by other documents adopted by the MNTS. Each party is entitled to put forward proposals for designating specific interstate programs. Decisions to designate them are made by the MNTS. The outcome of designating a program, conditions for participating in it, and financing arrangements are established in a separate agreement concluded by the states participating in the program.

Article 7

States participating in a program enjoy equal rights to its scientific results.

Distribution of profits deriving from utilization of the results of work under scientific-technical programs is carried out in accordance with the agreement for the program in question.

Section 3. Joint-Use Scientific-Technical Facilities

Article 8

Any scientific-technical facility (scientific-technical organization, research and experimental sites, information resources and networks, libraries, and so on), the results of whose activities are utilized by several states, acquires the status of a joint-use facility solely with the assent of its proprietor. The list of joint-use scientific-technical facilities is compiled, endorsed, and reviewed by the MNTS on the basis of proposals from the parties.

Article 9

The financing and operation of a joint-use facility is conducted according to special agreements.

Section 4. Cooperation in the Field of the Training of Scientific and Scientific Teaching Staff

Article 10

The parties set up conditions to train staff for higher scientific qualifications and for scientists to undergo work experience in the interests of the other participant states of the agreement.

Article 11

The parties ensure the mutual recognition [nostrifikatsiyu] of documents on qualifications of scientific and scientific teaching staff. The procedure and conditions of recognition are established by a special agreement.

Section 5. Cooperation in the Field of Scientific and Technical Information, Standardization, Metrology, Certification, the Protection of Intellectual and Industrial Property

Article 12

In order to provide information support for cooperation within the framework of the present agreement, the sides are forming an interstate system for exchanging scientific and technical information on the basis of existing information structures. The interstate exchange of scientific and technical information is regulated by a special agreement.

Article 13

The sides recognize the need for the coordinated development of state systems of standardization, metrology, and certification. Cooperation on these issues is carried out in accordance with special agreements.

Article 14

Questions of the protection of intellectual property are regulated by the parties' legislative acts and and special interstate agreements.

Article 15

Until the adoption of a patent convention, cooperation between the parties on questions of the protection of industrial property is regulated by a temporary agreement.

Article 16

To ensure the agreed development of state systems of science and technical information, standardization, metrology, certification, and the protection of industrial property, the parties may create coordinating bodies and science and technical organizations.

Section 6. Other Agreements

Article 17

Regulation of relations in the sphere of science and technical cooperation between the parties is implemented on the basis of the present agreement and other agreements concluded between them.

Section 7. Concluding Clauses

Article 18

The agreement is concluded for a term of five years. Its validity can be extended with the mutual agreement of the parties.

Article 19

Each party has the right of free withdrawal from the agreement by written notification to the depositary state

of the agreement not less than 12 months before withdrawing. The depositary state must notify all participants of the agreement of this within a month.

Article 20

Participation in the agreement does not limit the rights of a state to participate in any other bilateral and multilateral forms of interstate scientific and technical cooperation, including cooperation with states not participating in the agreement.

Article 21

The agreement is open to other states to join. The depositary state notifies the participant states of new members within a month and sends them copies of the signed agreement.

Article 22

Associated membership of states in this agreement, with the assumption of only a part of its obligations, is permitted with the agreement of all participant states.

Article 23

The agreement comes into force from the moment of signing.

Completed in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is to be kept in the archives of the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy to the states that have signed this agreement.

* * *

The agreement has been signed by representatives of the governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

Agreement on USSR's Internal Debt

LD1403185192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0832 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Agreement on the Former USSR's Internal Debt" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—**Agreement on the Former USSR's Internal Debt**

Agreement on the Principles and Mechanism for Servicing the Former USSR's Internal Debt

Recognizing the need for continuity in meeting the former USSR's obligations toward citizens, proceeding from the need to provide financial backing for measures aimed at economic recovery and transition to the market, and to pursue coordinated financial, credit, and social policies, the Governments of the states participating in this agreement have agreed on the following:

Article 1. For the purposes of the present agreement, the state's internal debt consists of money owed by the former USSR Government to the population in respect of deposits still held in savings banks. It also consists of the state loans floated in 1982 and 1990 but not yet repaid, including additional compensation, income, and interest deriving from them. Also included are amounts of compensation for citizens' contributions to long-term insurance contracts and other debts owed to the USSR State Bank, the USSR State Insurance, and the USSR Savings Bank arising from funds used to finance the expenditure side of the union budget.

Article 2. The parties accept liability for repaying the former USSR's state debt to the public in sums proportional to the residual debt outstanding on 1 January 1991 on balances held with branches of the USSR Savings Bank on the territory of each of the parties.

The remaining part of the debt—that owed to the USSR State Bank, the USSR State Insurance, and other components of the internal debt—will be apportioned among the parties on an integrated scale, based on the respective contribution of each party to produce national income and the utilization of centralized capital investment from the union budget on the territory of each party, as averaged out over 1986-1991.

Article 3. All expenditures involving the servicing of the former USSR's internal debt for the period starting 1 January 1992 are made by the sides at the expense of their state budgets.

Article 4. To convert state domestic premium loan bonds issued in 1982 quickly and to convert the former USSR's state treasury obligations regarding the loan issued in 1990 by entering the relevant sums into bank accounts and by exchanging state loan bonds and other forms of attracting the funds of the population of the states party to this agreement;

Not to conduct future prize draws on the USSR state domestic premium bond issued in 1982.

Article 5. The parties' Finance Ministries are charged with taking appropriate amounts of the former USSR's state debt to the population onto their balances from the USSR State Bank and converting it into the debt of these states in the manner agreed with the central (national) banks. The procedure for the division and mutual settlements of the residual part of the former USSR's state domestic debt is determined by a separate agreement, taking into account the provision emanating from Article 2 of the present agreement.

Article 6. The agreement comes into force from the moment it is signed.

Completed in Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is kept in the archives of the Republic of Belarus Government, which will send a certified copy of it to the states which have signed this agreement.

The agreement has been signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine. Moreover, the representatives of Belarus, Moldova, Turkmenistan, and Ukraine have made individual notes.

Appeal of the CIS Heads of Government and the Republic of Georgia on Adopting the 13 March 1992 Agreement on the Principles and Mechanism for Servicing the Former USSR's Internal Debt

Considering the social implications involved in servicing the USSR's internal debt and considering it is essential to safeguard the rights of every citizen of the former USSR, irrespective of the present place of residence within the former USSR's territory, the CIS heads of government and the Republic of Georgia appeal to the heads of former USSR states that have not joined the CIS to accede to the aforementioned 13 March 1992 agreement on the principles and mechanism for dividing and servicing the former USSR's internal debt and to instruct the appropriate bodies to ensure that it is implemented.

The appeal was signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine. Moreover, the representatives of Belarus, Turkmenistan, and Ukraine have made individual notes. Appended to the document are the following proposals by Belarus, to which Ukraine and Moldova have affiliated themselves:

Proposal by the Republic of Belarus on the Agreement on the Principles and Mechanism for Servicing the Former USSR's Internal Debt

Article 2 in the aforementioned agreement envisages that the Commonwealth states accept liability for repaying the former USSR's state debt to the population of their states in sums corresponding to the residual debt outstanding on 1 January 1991 on balances held with branches of the USSR Savings Bank on the territory of each of the Commonwealth states.

This debt arose as a result of the borrowing of Savings Bank funds by union bodies. It was distributed unevenly around the union Republics.

In light of this, we believe that the agreement on the partition of the internal debt should be signed at the same time as the agreement on the partition of the assets and liabilities of the former USSR State Bank.

Agreement on Standardization

LD1503181392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] [No dateline as received]—**AGREEMENT on conducting a coordinated policy in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification**

The governments of the states participating in the present agreement,

noting the international character of standardization, metrology, and certification,

recognizing their need to insure the compatibility and interchangeability of output, the safety of human life and health, and protection of the environment,

realizing their important role in eliminating technical barriers in trade, economic and scientific-technical cooperation and in enhancing production efficiency,

and recognizing the expediency of conducting a coordinated policy in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification,

have agreed the following:

Article 1

The sides, while possessing total independence on matters regarding the formation and implementation of systems of standardization, metrology, and certification and the organization of work in this sphere:

use the main provisions of existing systems of standardization and metrology and develop them in conformity with the market economy, harmonizing them with international norms and regulations;

recognize the existing "gost" standards as inter-state ones;

retain the abbreviation "gost" for newly introduced inter-state standards, providing for the harmonization of their requirements with international, regional and advanced national standards;

carry out certification work on the basis of common organizational and methodological provisions through national certification bodies set up by governments;

recognize existing state standard units of physical measurement as inter-state ones;

tackle in a coordinated way legal, economic, and organizational issues in respect of standardization, metrology, and certification, including on the basis of bilateral or multilateral treaties, programs, and technical projects.

Article 2

In order to work out a coordinated policy and to determine the main directions of activities on an intergovernmental level in the field of standardization, metrology, certification, and coordination of issues of financing work in this sphere, an inter-state council on standardization, metrology, and certification is to be set up, which will include the heads of relevant governing bodies of participants of this agreement. Functions of the inter-state council, its working bodies and their locations are determined by their position in the council (attached).

Article 3

The sides will implement a coordinated policy in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification in the following directions:
The adoption of general rules for carrying out work on standardization, metrology, and certification which is of inter-state interest;
The establishment of common compulsory requirements on output and services which would insure the safety of people's life and health and the protection of the environment, their compatibility and substitution, as well as common methods of testing;
The standardization of the general technical requirements of inter-state interest;
The organization of the management and development of classification of technical and economic information and coding systems;
The establishment of units of physical value applicable in the states which sign the agreement;
The running of an inter-state service in charge of time and frequencies, stores of data on measuring devices, standard specimens and standard reference materials;
The management and development of basic standards and a system for relaying the dimensions of units of physical value;
The formation, storage and management of a data bank on inter-state standards and international, regional and national standards in other countries and the enforcement of these standards by signatories to the agreement; the management and storage of existing industrial standards for the most important groups of product of inter-state interest;
Mutual recognition of the results of state tests, metrological certification, verification and calibration of measuring devices;
Mutual recognition of accredited laboratories (centers) where testing, verification, calibration and measurement are carried out, of certification bodies, certificates for output and systems of quality control;
The issue, reissue, circulation and distribution of inter-state standards, international and regional standards, and other official documents on standardization, metrology, and certification, of inter-state interest;
Coordination of programs for initial and follow-up training of personnel in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification;
International cooperation in standardization, metrology, certification, and quality control.

Article 4

The parties will finance common programs and technical projects in the field of standardization, metrology, and certification, and each participant in a given program or technical project will contribute funds for these specific purposes. Each signatory to the agreement will finance its own individual share of work to implement basic areas of agreed policy in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification.
Most favored nation status applies in the settlement of accounts between participants in this agreement.

During 1992 Russia's State Committee for Standards, as the successor in law to the USSR State Committee for Standards, will supply the states participating in the agreement with copies of official technical documents, as held on file at 1 January 1992. The signatories will meet the cost of outlays on management of the data bank, printing costs, and office expenses.

Article 5

The stipulations of this agreement will be spelled out in detail in additional special agreements and protocols.

Article 6

Each party to the agreement is entitled to withdraw from it, if it so wishes, provided written notification is deposited no less than 12 months before the date of withdrawal. Each participant in the agreement is to be informed of this within a month of notification.

Article 7

The agreement comes into force from the date of its signing.

Article 8

Governments of other states which recognize its provisions and which are committed to its goals and objectives are free to accede to the agreement.

Enacted in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in the Russian language. The original will be kept in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy to the signatories.

The agreement was signed by representatives of the governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan.

The following is the Appendix to the 13 March 1992 agreement on the conduct of a coordinated policy in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification

Regulations for the Inter-state Council on Standardization, Metrology, and Certification

1. General stipulations

The Inter-State Council on Standardization, Metrology, and Certification (henceforth referred to as the Council) coordinates and drafts decisions on the conduct of a coordinated policy in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification. The Council consists of the authorized representatives of states which have signed the 13 March 1992 agreement on the conduct of a coordinated policy in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification (henceforth referred to as the agreement).

The working body of the Council is a technical secretariat which operates on a permanent basis. The technical secretariat will have its headquarters in the city of Minsk. The official language of the Council and its working body will be Russian.

2. The Council's functions

The Council carries out the following basic functions:
Drafting and coordination of priority areas and forms of joint activity within the framework of inter-state cooperation in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification;
Examination and adoption of the main areas of scientific research, scientific and technical programs, plans and projects;
Submission of documents envisaged under the agreement for endorsement by the governments of the participant states and, if so authorized, endorsement of such documents;
The adoption of decisions on inter-state standards, the drafting and adoption of regulations and procedures for joint work on standardization, metrology, and certification;
The examination and coordination of estimates of expenditure on the fulfillment of specific programs and technical projects dealing with standardization, metrology, and certification; the drafting of proposals on sources of finance for such programs and projects;
The adoption of decisions on the formation of the Council's technical secretariat and interim scientific and technical commissions, endorsement of their work plans, and estimates of expenditure.

The Council can also carry out other functions defined by the agreement or by additional powers agreed with governments.

3. Representation of states in the Council

Those represented on the Council are the heads of the national bodies on standardization, metrology, and certification of the member-states of the agreement who are granted, on behalf of states, the right to be a member of the Council and the powers necessary to carry out functions placed on the Council.

Members of the council:
Take part in all types of activity of the Council with the right of a deciding vote;
Initiate the discussion in the Council of various issues of inter-state cooperation in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification;
Inform the Council on the positions of their states with regard to specific issues of inter-state cooperation in the mentioned types of activity;
Exchange information about the work of national bodies and hold talks with other members of the Council on the involvement of their states in specific forms of inter-state and international cooperation in the sphere of standardization, metrology, and certification;
Systematically receive the minutes of meetings of the Council and information about the current activity of the technical secretariat and the interim scientific and technical commissions, as well as information about specific areas of cooperation;
On request, provide the Council and its technical secretariat with the necessary information about the work of national bodies responsible for standardization, metrology, and certification on specific questions of inter-state interest.

4. Organization of the Council's work

Decisions adopted by the Council on fundamental questions are binding on national bodies responsible for standardization, metrology, and certification, which must issue decisions on their introduction in the respective states.

Meetings of the Council are held at least every six months. In addition to members of the Council, other representatives of states may take part in the meetings, although they will not be entitled to vote on decisions. The required number of advisers and experts may form part of state delegations attending the sessions.

The chairmanship of Council sessions is rotated among all the Council members. The agenda for meetings is endorsed by a majority vote of the Council members. Procedural questions are also decided by a majority vote. Decisions on specific inter-state programs, technical projects, and forms of cooperation are taken by the Council members on the basis of consensus.

Decisions affecting the interests of any individual member state cannot be taken in the absence of the Council member representing that state.

In the intervals between sessions, Council members organize work on the implementation of Council decisions in their own states and keep in touch with the technical secretariat and with each other.

5. The Council's Technical Secretariat

The Council's Technical Secretariat consists of five full-time and highly qualified consultant organizers in charge of the principal areas of Council work, as defined by the agreement. It also consists of technical personnel.

The Technical Secretariat is a corporate body, with its own bank account and seal.

The staff of the Council's Technical Secretariat are recruited in the state where it has its headquarters. They are to be provided with the necessary office space, modern organizational equipment, communications, transport to service the Council's needs, and anything else that is needed to insure that it functions normally. The staff have the same social entitlements as other working people in the state where it is headquartered.

The outlays of the Technical Secretariat on organization of Council work and staffing costs are financed out of

annual contributions by the member states of the agreement in accordance with estimates of expenditure endorsed by the Council.

The functions of the Technical Secretariat are defined in regulations endorsed by the Council. Proposals on the recruitment of specialists to the Technical Secretariat are prepared by the national authority on standardization, metrology, and certification of the state where the Council's Technical Secretariat is located.

Agreement on Pension Provision

LD1503171192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] [No dateline as received]—AGREEMENT on guarantees of rights of citizens of participant states of the Commonwealth of Independent States in the sphere of pension provision

Being guided by articles 2 and 4 of this agreement on setting up the Commonwealth of Independent States [as received],

Proceeding from the need to protect the rights of citizens in the sphere of pension provision,

Being aware that each participant state of the Commonwealth must bear direct responsibility for the pension provision of its citizens,

Recognizing that the participant states of the Commonwealth have obligations before persons unfit for work who have gained the right to pension provision on their territory, or on the territory of other republics, over the period of their inclusion in the USSR, and avail themselves of this right on the territory of the participant states of the agreement,

And recognizing the need for rigorous observance of obligations with regard to the international agreements concluded by the USSR on questions of pension provision,

The governments of the participant states of this agreement have agreed on the following:

Article 1

Pension provision for citizens of the participant states of the present agreement and members of their families is carried out according to the legislation of the state on whose territory they are living.

Article 2

Pension provision for military servicemen of the armed forces of the participant states of the Commonwealth and the procedure for the allocation of funds for their pension provision is regulated by a special agreement. Until the conclusion of a special agreement, pension provision for military servicemen of the armed forces of the participant states of the Commonwealth is carried out in accordance with the legislation operating at the moment of signing of the present agreement by the states.

Article 3

All expenses entailed by this agreement are borne by the state granting the provision. Mutual settlements are not carried out, unless provided for by bilateral agreements.

Article 4

The participant states of the agreement carry out a policy of harmonization of legislation on pension provision.

Article 5

The present agreement extends to all types of pension provision for citizens who have been or will be determined by the legislation of the participant states of the agreement.

Article 6

1. The granting of pensions to citizens of the participant states of the agreement is carried out according to their place of residence.
2. In order to establish their right to a pension, including pensions on the basis of privileges and for period of service, the length of service of citizens of the participant states of the agreement gained on the territory of any of these states, as well as on the territory of the former USSR during the time up to the coming into force of the present agreement, is taken into account.
3. The calculation of pensions is made from the wage (income) for the periods of work which are reckoned toward the length of service. In the event that a national currency is introduced in the participant states of the agreement, the amount of wage (income) is determined by being based on the officially established rate at the moment of the granting of the pension.

Article 7

When a pensioner moves within the borders of the participant states of the agreement, payment of his pension according to his former place of residence ceases, if a pension of the same kind is provided for by the legislation of the state of the new place of residence of the pensioner. The amount of pension is reviewed in accordance with the legislation of the participant state of the agreement according to the new place of residence of the pensioner with the observance of the conditions provided for by point 3 of article 6 of the present agreement.

Article 8

The bodies implementing pension provision in the participant states of the agreement cooperate with one another in the manner laid down by the agreement between their central bodies. The parties authorize their competent bodies to conclude the above agreements in

the course of not more than six months from the day of the signing of this agreement.

Article 9

The participant states of the Commonwealth examine issues not settled by the present agreement, as well as those concerning its application, by means of negotiations.

Article 10

The participant states of the Commonwealth assume the obligations of informing each other about the pension legislation operating in their states, and about subsequent amendments to it, as well as taking the necessary measures to establish the circumstances which are of decisive importance for determining rights to a pension and its amount.

Article 11

The documents necessary for pension provision, issued in the proper manner on the territory of the participant states of the Commonwealth of Independent States and states which belonged to the USSR up to 1 December 1991, are accepted on the territory of the participant states of the Commonwealth without legalization.

Article 12

This agreement comes into force from the moment it is signed.

Article 13

1. Each participant in the present agreement can leave it, having sent appropriate written notification to the depository. The validity of the agreement with regard to this participant ceases six months from the day that such notification is received by the depository.
2. The pension rights of citizens of the participant states of the Commonwealth which have arisen in accordance with the provisions of the present agreement do not lose their validity in the event of the withdrawal from the agreement of the participant state on whose territory they are living.

Concluded in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in the Russian language. The original copy is kept in the archive of the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy to the states that have signed this agreement.

The agreement has been signed by representatives of the governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine. Moreover, the representative of Moldova added the following note: "These issues are settled by bilateral agreements."

Protocol on Price Setting

LD1403171292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0935 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Protocol on the implementation of an agreed policy of the member-states of the Commonwealth of Independent States in the sphere of price setting

The governments of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Republic of Armenia, Republic of Belarus, Republic of Kazakhstan, Republic of Kyrgyzstan, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Republic of Uzbekistan, and Ukraine have agreed on the following:

In order to ensure the implementation of a concerted price setting policy, to entrust experts and representatives of the states of the working group for the organizational-technical preparation of and the carrying out of the sittings of the Council of Heads of States and of the Council of Heads of Governments of the CIS, and to agree within a week's timescale:
A list of regulated prices for the major types of raw materials, fuel-energy resources, other materials and food;
the principles of such a regulating process;
proposals for the maximum levels for the above-mentioned prices;
as well as proposals for the introduction of the maximum differentiated levels of profitability for the output of monopoly enterprises which are sold at free (agreed) prices.

These proposals should be discussed at a regular meeting of the Council of Heads of States and the Council of Heads of Governments of member-states of the Commonwealth on 20 March 1992 in the city of Kiev.

Issued in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original document in the Russian language. The original document is kept in the archive of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy to the states that have signed this protocol.

The protocol was signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Interstate Protocol on Railways

LD1403224492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0938 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Protocol on Railways" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—**Protocol on Railways**

Protocol of the Meetings of the Heads of CIS States on Examining Documents on Railway Transport on 20 March 1992

It was decided to entrust the Council for Railway Transport with rediscussing draft paragraphs on the Council for Railway Transport and on the Council's executive committee in light of the Ukrainian Government's opinion. It is intended that the aforementioned documents will be examined in Kiev on 20 March.

Issued in Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original document in Russian. The original document will be kept in the archives of the Republic of Belarus Government, which will send a certified copy of the document to the states that have signed the protocol.

The protocol was signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

Food Import Commission Protocol

LD1403172192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0942 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Protocol Confirming Provisions for the Interstate Commission on Food Imports and for This Commission's Composition" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—**Protocol Confirming Provisions for the Interstate Commission on Food Imports and for This Commission's Composition**

The Governments of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, the Republic of Uzbekistan, Ukraine, and the Republic of Georgia agreed on the following:

1. To confirm provisions for the Interstate Commission on Food Imports (Appendix 1);

2. To include in this Commission's composition plenipotentiary representatives of CIS Governments and of the Republic of Georgia in accordance with Appendix 2;

3. That the Interstate Commission on Food Imports should set up a working group within two weeks to coordinate work on organizing imported foods purchases and agricultural raw materials and on their deliveries.

Concluded in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in a single original in Russian. The original is being kept in the archives of the Republic of Belarus Government, which will send a certified copy of it to the states which signed the present protocol.

The protocol was signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Georgia.

Appendix 1 to the Protocol Confirming Provisions for the Interstate Commission on Food Imports and for This Commission's Composition, Dated 13 March 1992

Provisions for the Interstate Commission on Food Imports

1. The Interstate Commission on Food Imports is made up of plenipotentiary representatives of the CIS Governments and of the Republic of Georgia and has been formed to ensure concerted action in the practical realization of decisions on importing food purchases.

The interstate Commission's practical work is based on the agreement of the sovereign Republics (states) on food provisions in 1992 and is called upon to ensure complete and timely fulfillment of the obligations taken on by the participants of this agreement.

Ukraine participates in the work of the Interstate Commission on Food Imports in fulfilling credit agreements concluded in 1991, liabilities arising from which have been counted as part of the USSR's debt and are to be repaid in accordance with a memorandum of mutual understanding with regard to debts to foreign creditors of the USSR and its legal successors of 28 October 1991.

2. The remit of the interstate Commission is as follows:

—Consideration of the state of affairs with regard to purchases of imported foods and agricultural raw and processed materials and supplies of these goods to customers in accordance with the volumes laid down in the agreement of the sovereign Republics (states) on food supplies in 1992;

—Monitoring the parties' fulfillment of the agreement of the sovereign Republics (states) on food supplies in 1992 and of obligations to pay off credits made available for food purchases abroad;

—An analysis of the receipt of fund transfers (in accordance with accepted commitments) by Commonwealth states and by the Republic of Georgia to the clearing accounts of the foreign trade associations Eksportkhleb, Prodintorg, and Soyuzplodoimport and other specialized foreign trade organizations and commercial structures in freely convertible currency for the timely payment of interest on foreign debt and for the freightage and insurance of foods within the limits of the assigned quotas, with account being taken of the amount of food actually imported. The Commission informs the Commonwealth Governments and the Republic of Georgia and the interstate council for supervisir.g the USSR's foreign debt and the use of its assets about the state of affairs in this sphere;

—Helping to create the necessary conditions for implementing the unhindered acceptance and dispatch of

imported foods to its recipients through the forces and means of those states on whose territories sea ports and railway transhipment points are located. This expenditure is borne at agreed prices by the states receiving these goods. If the path of these goods is obstructed, the Commission proposes to remove any obstacles;

—Preparing proposals to improve the regulation of mutual relations during deliveries of imported foods and agricultural raw materials;

—Examining disagreements over the distribution and deliveries of imported foods and raw materials;

—Resolving questions on redistributing imported food goods in the event that one or several Commonwealth states and the Republic of Georgia do not fulfill obligations to defray expenditures connected with realizing credits in accordance with the share of products received and in the event of delays in getting these cargoes to their recipients;

—Adopting urgent measures to ensure top priority deliveries of imported foods in the event of natural disasters and other extreme situations arising in countries party to the agreement between the sovereign Republics (states) on food provisions in 1992.

3. The Commission elects a chairman from among its members.

4. The interstate Commission's decisions are made in the following manner:

—On matters of a common character affecting all Commonwealth states and the Republic of Georgia, by reaching a consensus;

—On matters affecting just one or a few states, by a majority of the votes of Commission members with the necessary consent of the Commission members from the states affected by the matter in question;

—The Commission's decisions are formulated as protocols of its sittings, which are signed by the Commission chairman;

—The decisions adopted by the Commission within the limits of its powers are mandatory for execution in the states of the agreement of sovereign Republics (states) on food provisions in 1992;

—The Commission's decisions are brought to the notice of the organizations concerned in the form of excerpts from the protocols of its sittings.

5. The interstate Commission holds its sittings regularly, as a rule once a month.

If necessary, leaders of state bodies and other organizations of the Commonwealth states and of the Republic of Georgia are invited to sittings of the interstate Commission as its chairman.

6. A working group for coordinating work on organizing purchases of imported food and agricultural raw materials and their deliveries is being set up and will be attached to the interstate Commission.

Appendix 2 to the Protocol Confirming Provisions for the Interstate Commission on Food Imports and for This Commission's Composition, Dated 13 March 1992

Composition of the Interstate Commission on Food Imports

—Aleksey Alekseyevich Shakhnovich, Belarussian Council of Ministers deputy chairman;

—Valeriy Antonovich Makharadze, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government;

—Stanislav Vasilyevich Anisimov, Russian minister of trade and material resources;

—Rafayel Tadevosovich Shakhbazyan, acting Armenian minister for food and procurements;

—Petr Petrovich Chkheidze, the Republic of Georgia's permanent representative in the Russian Federation;

—Omar Veniaminovich Katsitadze, Georgian deputy minister of the food industry;

—Kazakh Deputy Prime Minister Baltash Muldabayevich Tursumbayev;

—Ismail Khakimovich Dzhurabekov, Uzbek first deputy prime minister;

—Akmal Akramovich Saidov, permanent representative of the Republic of Uzbekistan's cabinet of ministers in Moscow;

—Vasiliy Mitrofanovich Rusu, Moldovan deputy agriculture and food minister;

—Vladimir Matveyevich Tishchenko, Tajik first deputy minister of bakery products;

—Niyaz Klych Nurklychev, permanent representative of the Turkmen Government in Moscow and deputy head of Turkmenistan's Government;

—Sadyrbek Abdrakmanovich Abdrakmanov, general director for "Kyrgyzkhleboprodukt" of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan;

—Ukrainian Deputy Economics Minister Anatoliy Varfolomeyevich Rakhanskiy;

—Akmatbek Kasymkulovich Nanayev, plenipotentiary of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan.

Protocol on Internationalist Soldiers

LD1503173692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0950 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] [No dateline as received] **PROTOCOL on the formation of the Committee for Internationalist Soldiers**

attached to the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth Member States

The governments of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, of Turkmenistan, the Republic of Uzbekistan, of Ukraine, and the Republic of Georgia, have agreed:

1. To form, for a transitional period, the Committee for Internationalist Soldiers attached to the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth Member States, with residence in the city of Moscow;
to recognize the aforementioned Committee as the successor to the Committee for Internationalist Soldiers attached to the USSR president in matters of exercising the rights of the legal person, of using current and other accounts (including hard currency ones), in matters of the provision of materials and machinery, and of conducting economic activity;
to ascertain that the functioning of the Committee's working organs is carried out through self-financing.

2. To approve the provisions on the Committee for Internationalist Soldiers attached to the Council of Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth Member States (attached).

3. To appoint Aushev Ruslan Sultanovich chairman of the Committee for Internationalist Soldiers attached to the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth member states.

Concluded in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in a single original copy in the Russian language. The original is to be kept in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy of the protocol to the states signatory to the present protocol.

* * *

The protocol was signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

* * *

APPENDIX to the 13 March 1992 protocol on the formation of a Committee for the affairs of internationalist servicemen under the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth member states

STATUTE on the Committee for the Affairs of Internationalist Servicemen under the Council of Heads of Government of Commonwealth member states

I. General provisions

1. The Committee for the Affairs of Internationalist Servicemen under the Council of Heads of Government of Commonwealth member states (the Committee) is called upon to promote the implementation of measures for the social protection of persons who have performed their internationalist duty, the elaboration of coordinated decisions by state and public organizations to improve the living and day to day conditions of internationalist servicemen and members of their families, and the development and implementation of inter-state programs to assist these citizens and to involve them in useful public, economic, and commercial activities.

2. The Committee is guided in its activities by the decisions of the Councils of Heads of State and Heads of Government of Commonwealth member states, by the laws of these states, and also by the present statute.

3. The Committee conducts its activities, interacting with the governments of the independent states, their organs of government in the regions, public organizations, and associations [obyedinyeniyami, assotsiatsiyami] representing the interests of the internationalist soldiers and members of their families.
The organs of state government of the Commonwealth member states give assistance in the Committee's work on matters coming within its competence.

4. The financing of the Committee's activities is governed by the income from its own commercial activities and other sources, in accordance with the legislation of the Commonwealth member states.

II. The Committee's basic tasks and rights

5. The Committee's basic tasks are:
Developing and providing for the interstate programs for improving the living conditions and amenities of internationalist soldiers and members of their families;
implementating interaction between state organs and public organizations of internationalist soldiers in fulfilling inter-state programs with regard to the social protection of international soldiers and members of their families;
drawing up draft decisions of the Councils of Heads of States and Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth member states on the social rehabilitation and improvement of living conditions and amenities for internationalist soldiers and members of their families;
developing inter-state and internatonal ties for attracting funds toward improving housing and amenities, and for providing medical and legal aid to internationalist soldiers, and other social needs;
assisting the development of a system of medical, professional, and social rehabilitation, sanatorium and health resort treatment, of the industrial base for the manufacture of prosthetic-orthopedic appliances, of special devices and gadgets, making the work and everyday life of the disabled easier;
pooling the efforts of state bodies and public organizations with a view to giving assistance in returning home persons taken prisoner, in searching for missing persons, and also in drawing up measures to perpetuate the

memories of soldiers who died in Afghanistan and other countries in the period of military conflicts;
giving methodical, consultative, and other aid in developing and implementing programs of social support for internationalist soldiers and members of the families of those killed or missing.

6. Within the limits of its powers the Committee has the right:
To ensure the implementation of decisions on social security for internationalist servicemen made by the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth member states;
to submit proposals on social security for internationlist servicemen to the Council of Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth member states;
to establish or participate in the establishment of commercial enterprises and organizations, to sponsor the formation of joint ventures, including those involving foreign firms;
to set up funds to assist internationalist servicemen, to form insurance companies and supervise their activities;
to participate in the financing of scientific training establishments, skill centers, centers for psychological and medical rehabilitation, residential homes and hospitals for veterans, and other organizations and institutions;
to organize conferences and symposia, including international ones, on social security for internationalist servicemen;
to take part in the development and implementation of vocational training and retraining programs for internationalist servicemen.

III. The Committee's working bodies

7. The Committee consists of a chairman, appointed by the Council of Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth member states, deputy chairmen, and members of the Committee.
The chairman of the Committee bears personal responsibility for the fulfilment of the objectives placed before the Committee, and the implementation of its functions.

8. The most important questions connected with the Committee's fulfilment of its functions are to be examined at meetings of the Coordinating Council on Internationalist Servicemen.
Members of the Council are appointed by agreement with the heads of committees, leagues, and associations of internationalist servicemen in the Commonwealth member states. Eminent academics and other specialists may join the Council if these bodies agree.

9. The Committee's structure and procedures for appointment and dismissal of staff are to be established by the Committee's chairman.

10. The Committee is a corporate body. It has its own bank account and other accounts, including a hard currency account, its own seal, stamps, and official stationery.

Agreement on Customs Policy Principles

LD1403204692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] [No dateline as received]—An agreement on the principles of customs policy

The states-parties to this agreement, subsequently referred to as "contracting parties",

wishing to maintain and strengthen the single economic space in relations with one another,

striving to ensure a free movement of goods within the confines of this space,

proceeding from the necessity to pursue a coordinated customs policy with regard to third countries, and striving to standardize customs laws and customs procedures,

having as their goal to stimulate economic development and protection of the domestic market,

have agreed as follows:

Article 1

In order to implement the goals of this agreement, the contracting parties are setting up a Customs Union which, within the confines of its functions, is an independent subject of international law.

The contracting parties are creating a common customs territory comprising the customs territories of the contracting parties.

Article 2

The contracting parties agree the to common customs tariff and promote uniform internal taxation of goods and other articles imported to the common customs territory and exported from this territory.

Goods which circulate within the Customs Union are not subject to customs duties or other taxes or charges of equivalent significance.

Article 3

The contracting parties refrain from establishing customs barriers among themselves and pledge to review the existing quantitative restrictions so that the volume of restrictions on the export of goods as part of mutual exchange should decline.

Here the quantitative restrictions can be retained only on the basis of our mutual agreement among states, only on the export of goods, and only for a specified timeframe.

The contracting parties pledge to lift quantitative restrictions on the export of goods of personal use belonging to citizens of the contracting parties.

In the event of the introduction of temporary quantitative restrictions on the export of goods, such restrictions will be applied in equal measure with respect to all the contracting parties.

Article 4

This agreement is without detriment to the right of any contracting party to adopt, in accordance with international law and also with its internal laws, measures that are necessary to protect state security, public order, the health or morals of the population, the cultural and historical legacy of its peoples, and the protection of rare animals and plants.

Article 5

In order to ensure the functioning of the customs union, the formulation, and implementation of a common customs policy, the coordination of the interaction of customs services, the collection and analysis of customs statistics, the contracting parties have established a Customs Council.

Article 6

The Customs Council, comprising plenipotentiary representatives of the contracting parties, is the highest body of the Customs Union.

The activities of the Customs Council are governed by the statute of the Council, approved by the contracting parties.

Article 7

The budget to tackle questions of providing material, technical, financial, personnel, welfare, and other support for the activities of the Customs Council, is formed through contributions made by the governments of the contracting parties on a quota basis agreed among themselves.

Article 8

The revenue accruing from the collection of customs duties and taxes when goods are imported to the common customs territory from third countries, and when goods are exported from this territory to third countries, goes to the budgets of the states-participants in the Customs Union.

Article 9

The contracting parties pledge not to adopt enforceable enactments [normativnyy akt] which contradict this agreement, and to bring the existing enforceable enactments of theirs in line with this agreement no later than one year after it comes into force.

Article 10

The procedure for settling contraversial questions which may arise in connection with the interpretation and application of this agreement, and also the procedure for leaving the Customs Union, are defined by a separate agreement to be concluded between the contracting parties.

Article 11

Any other state may join the Customs Union with the consent of all its members.

A special agreement on the conditions of its participation in the Customs Union is concluded with such a state.

Article 12

This agreement comes into force with regard to each of the parties within one month of the notification that all the formalities necessary for its introduction have been complied with, being placed with the depositary.

With regard to a state joining this agreement, it comes into force within one month of the submission of such documents by that state.

Completed in the city of Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one true copy in the Russian language. The true copy is kept in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send certified copies of it to the states-participants in this agreement.

* * *

The agreement has been signed by representatives of the Government of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan.

Representatives of Armenia, Belarus, Moldova, and Turkmenistan made individual observations.

The Statute of the Customs Council

In accordance with Article 6 of the Agreement on the Principles of Customs Policy, the Customs Council (subsequently referred to as the Council) is the highest body of the Customs Union, and is comprised of plenipotentiary representatives of the states-participants in the Customs Union.

Article 1. The Aims of the Council.

The aims of the Council are as follows:
To ensure the functioning of the Customs Union;
the working out and implementation of a unified customs policy which takes into account the interests of the subjects of economic activities of the states-participants in the Customs Union, which is an independent subject of international law;
to counteract monopolism and also discriminatory actions of foreign states and their unions;
to halt unscrupulous competition in the implementation of export-import operations;
to protect the consumer and industrial markets within the framework of the unified market of the states-participants in the Customs Union;

to standardize the customs laws and customs procedures in the interests of the economies of the states-participants in the Customs Union becoming integrated in the world economy;
to coordinate the interaction among the customs services of the states-participants in the Customs Union;
to work out and implement specific inter-state programs for the development of the customs services;
to collect and analyze customs statistics of the Customs Union.

Article 2. The Functions of the Council

The functions of the Council are:
To work out, examine, and approve proposals concerning the main directions of the customs policy of the states-participants in the Customs Union, including the general customs tariff of the states-participants in the Customs Union (subsequently termed "the general customs tariff"), formed on the basis of a harmonized system for the description and coding of goods;
the procedure for the establishment, abolition, or revision of the rates of customs duties;
the granting of tariff concessions and preferential treatment;
regulations on the application of customs duties, including special, anti-dumping, and compensation duties;
the system for the organization and carrying out of central procedures preceding the adoption of decisions on the application of custome duties, as enumerated in this article;
the alteration of the listed part of the general customs tariff;
to work out, examine, and approve instructions to the delegations of the Customs Union when they are engaged in international negotiations and consultations on the questions of the customs and tariffs, regulations, and other questions within the remit of the Council;
measures to halt unscrupulous competition in export-import operations;
to counteract monopolism in the sphere of foreign economic ties and discriminatory actions on the part of foreign states-participants in the Customs Union;
To work out and examine draft legislative acts of the Customs Union and its international treaties where they concern the customs and tariffs regulations;
to study the entire range of questions of customs cooperation which the states-participants in the Customs Union have agreed to promote;
the technical aspects of customs systems with the purpose of suggesting practical means to attain as high a level of their uniformity and coordination as possible;
to work out and adopt decisions ensuring uniformity in the interpretation and application of agreements in the area of customs services, the customs legislation of the Customs Union currently in force, including the questions of nomenclature for the classification of goods, and also the settling of disputes with regard to the interpretation and application of documents mentioned in this article;
to ensure the dissemination of information on the customs and tariffs regulations, customs procedures, and on the submission to the governments of the states-participants in the Customs Union of proposals on customs services;
cooperation with international organizations on questions within the remit of the Council.

Article 3. The Legal Basis of the Council

In its work the Council is guided by:
a) The agreement of the principles of customs policy;
b) this statute;
c) the rules governing the work of the Council, the regulations concerning the establishment, abolition, and revision of the rates of customs duties, the rules of valuation for customs purposes, the rules of determining the country of origin, worked out and adopted by the council.

Article 4. The Rights of the Council

The Council is within its rights to:
Establish the scale of import and export customs duties on goods and other articles, and to make alterations to them;
establish seasonal customs duties;
establish, alter, and abolish the rates of customs duties on goods of personal use;
define the conditions for the return of customs duties during the exportation from the customs territory of the states-participants in the Customs Union of goods imported for assembly, installation, re-processing, or processing purposes;
to lift the payment of customs duties on goods and other articles which represent the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress, and which are not manufactured or manufactured in insufficient quantity in the states-participants in the Customs Union;
to make alterations to the nomenclature of the general customs tariff to regulate and protect the common market of the states-participants in the Customs Union, taking into account international norms and practice;
to establish other rules in order to make a more effective use of the means of regulating foreign economic activity provided for in the laws of the states-participants in the Customs Union, and to bring these means more in line with international practice;
to make recommendations to the governments of the contracting parties aimed at strengthening the common market of the states-participants in the Customs Union, improving the system of regulating the foreign economic activity of the states-participants in the Customs Union, including the questions of taxation, quantitative regulation, the procedure for foreign investments, and also other questions connected with the effective operation of the general customs tariff;
to ask for and receive from bodies of state government, subjects of economic activity, and banking establishments of the states-participants in the Customs Union, documents and information essential for its activities;

to approve the budget to resolve the questions of material, technical, financial, personnel, welfare, and other support for the activities of the Customs Council, and also to implement inter-state target programs of the customs services, including the completion of common customs borders.

Article 5. Composition of the Council

The members of the governments of the member states of the Customs Union are members of the Council.

Each member of the Council is entitled to appoint as their representatives their deputy and no more than three advisers (experts).

The members of the Council, their deputies, and advisers (experts) are appointed by the governments of the member states of the customs union.

The Council elects is chairman and defines its powers.

The Council appoints its secretary who manages the activity of the working apparatus of the Council and the specialized technical committees.

Article 6. Executive Bodies

The Customs Council sets up executive bodies to coordinate the actions of the national customs services and to fulfill the functions defined by the contracting parties. If need be, the Council forms specialized technical committees to assist its work. The budgetary funds for these purposes are determined by the contracting parties and used to develop and implement specific interstate customs programs. Customs statistics of the Customs Union are kept.

Article 7. The Working Staff of the Council

The functions of the working staff of the Council are carried out by its secretariat, formed from representatives of the participant states of the Customs Union. Employees of the working staff of the Council are obliged to be guided in the fulfillment of their duties exclusively by the interests of the single market of the participant states of the Customs Union and are not entitled to adhere to the standpoints or considerations of any individual participant state of the Customs Union, department, or organization.

Article 8. The Budget of the Council

The Council's budget, including its hard-currency portion, is formed from contributions made by the governments of the participant states of the Customs Union at quotas agreed between them, as provided for by Article 7 of the agreement on the principles of customs policy of the member states of the Commonwealth. The financial year of the Council begins on 1 January and ends on 31 December. The participant states of the Customs Union pay their full budgetary contributions no later than 1 February of the new financial year.

Article 9. Meetings of the Council

The headquarters of the Council is in Moscow.

The meetings of the Council are held as the need arises, but no less frequently than once every two months in the capitals of the member states of the Customs Union in turn.

Article 10. Decisions of the Council

The decisions of the Council are made with the general agreement of its members, or their deputies, present at the meeting of the Council.

Each member state of the Customs Union has one vote in the Council.

With common agreement the Council is entitled:

to establish a different voting procedure;

to invite to its meetings with the right of a deliberative vote representatives of state government bodies, of subjects of economic activity, of banking institutions, and also of international organizations.

The decisions of the Council are made in the form of resolutions, are signed by the chairman of the Council, and are subject to publication for the general public in an official publication established by the Council.

The decisions of the Council are final and are subject to immediate implementation in all member states of the Customs Union without any additional procedures.

Resolutions of the Council that are of a general nature, and if they do not establish more favorable norms than those earlier in force, come into force one month from the date of their publication for general information.

The chairman of the Council can issue instructions of a non-normative nature on issues of the Council's current activities.

Completed in Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is to be kept in the government archives of the Republic of Belarus, which will send its signed copy to the states who have signed the present agreement.

* * *

The clause was signed by representatives of the governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

At the same time representatives of Armenia, Belarus, Moldova, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan made individual remarks.

Interstate Protocol on Banking

LD1403212892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Protocol on Banking" adopted at the CIS heads of government meeting in Moscow on 13 March]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—**Protocol on Banking**

Protocol on Coordinating Banking Activities

The Governments of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, the Republic of Uzbekistan, and Ukraine have agreed on the following:

1. To note the results of the 13 February 1992 meeting in Moscow of heads of national (central) banks of states which used to belong to the USSR, as set out in the text of the appeal to Commonwealth heads of state which they adopted (attached as an appendix).

2. Considering the need for the Commonwealth states' national (central) banks to coordinate activities, to support their work to create an interbank coordinating body and to define procedures for adopting its decisions.

3. To ask the Commonwealth states' national (central) banks to complete by the end of March 1992 joint work on a draft agreement on an interbank coordinating body and to inform the heads of government of the Commonwealth states of the outcome.

Concluded in Moscow on 13 March 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original will remain in the archives of the Republic of Belarus Government, which will send the signatory states a certified copy of the protocol they have signed.

The protocol was signed by representatives of the Governments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Appendix to the Protocol on Coordinating Banking Activities, Dated 13 March 1992

Appeal by the Heads of Central Banks of Former USSR States, Addressed to the Council of CIS Heads of State

The heads of central banks, gathered for a conference in Moscow, are deeply committed to the success of measures to surmount the economic crisis, on the basis of a switch to market regulation of economic development in the states of the ruble zone. Consequently, they express complete support for this course and declare their readiness to do everything possible to achieve the objectives and goals which have been set.

We consider it necessary to draw attention to the fact that opportunities which the banks have to influence the solution of tasks which have been set are not always used effectively enough. Individual political and economic decisions are made without proper consultation with banking structures. This often reduces their effectiveness or brings them to the verge of failure. Among other things, the liberalization of prices and the resulting increase in wages, pensions, and other income received by the public turned out to be poorly prepared from the point of view of the availability of ready cash.

The limited supply of goods and services for the population and the cumulative failure over the years to satisfy the cash-backed demand of the population require coordinated actions by executive and legislative authorities and central state banks. This is the only way to stabilize the ruble, which is so necessary for the economy of each state in the ruble zone. Central banks in individual states often find themselves directly dependent on the executive authorities, which cannot be justified since it deprives the banks of effective influence on economic processes.

We are firmly convinced that there is now a need for tough banking policies in the sphere of credit, organization of payments between economic organizations and between banks, and regulation of cash flows between sovereign states in the ruble zone.

Considering that many of these problems can and must be resolved by the central banks themselves, conference participants agreed on the need for efficient and strict cooperation between central banks and acknowledged the expediency of holding regular meetings of heads of central banks of states in the ruble zone, at which agreed decisions on fundamental questions of banking policy affecting the interests of all countries in the zone would be worked out and appropriate proposals submitted, if need be, to heads of government or heads of state. The central banks continue work on an interbank union agreement.

The heads of central banks ask you to support them by ensuring their real independence of executive authorities in resolving matters which are the traditional responsibility of banking structures. This applies especially to ways of covering deficits in state budgets, regulation of interest rates, the granting of preferential loans, and so on. It applies both to the policy of the banks within the state and in interstate relations. We feel more active involvement of heads of central banks in negotiations or in the provision of expert advice on decisions taken at interstate level affecting cash circulation and settlement of accounts would facilitate better preparation of such decisions.

Many citizens of former USSR countries are worried about the fate of USSR state loan bonds. A statement on the continuity of undertakings as regards these securities was made some time ago. However, at a time when money is depreciating in value, no real action has been taken in this direction. Bonds are already being dumped in a number of regions, thus making it harder to effect payments in ready cash. We ask you to instruct the heads

of governments to make an urgent move on how the system of state loan bonds will function in the future and to inform the public about this. Lack of a decision on the securities of the former USSR and the uncertainties about their future could destroy the public's confidence in state securities once and for all. This must not be allowed to happen if the authority of the state, which is so vital in a market economy, is to be upheld.

In view of the situation which has arisen, the Republics may need to update certain legislative acts or introduce restrictions for a certain period on credit payments and the activities of banking institutions.

We count on your assistance in resolving the problems involved in ensuring stability of cash circulation.

[Signed] Bank of Russia Chairman G.G. Matyukhin, on behalf of the conference of heads of central banks

Interior Ministers Discuss 'CIS Interpol'

LD1303150392 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By BELTA correspondent Vladimir Levin]

[Text] Minsk March 13 TASS—Interior ministers from the Commonwealth member-states held a meeting in Minsk on Friday [13 March] to discuss joint actions in combatting crime enclosed in the draft "Agreement on Interaction between the Ministeries". Interior ministers from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia attended the meeting as observers.

The agreement means a "CIS Interpol" might appear. Although several of the participants had already signed bilateral cooperation agreements with each other, they agreed that the creation of the CIS "Interpol" will promote their implementation rather than cancel them at all. It was only Turkmenistan who said it would stick to bilateral agreements.

Among the most urgent tasks the ministers placed the fight against banditism and terrorism, illegal sales of weapons, armaments, nuclear materials, drugs, forging of documents and securities, counterfeiting and search for criminals.

Military

Army To Withdraw From Armenian-Azerbaijan Border

LD1303152592 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 13 (TASS)—The CIS Joint Armed Forces Command has issued an order to remove immediately all remaining CIS Army posts along the Armenian-Azerbaijan border, a CIS Joint Army press center official told ITAR-TASS.

Transcaucasus Commander Denies Withdrawal

LD1403075492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] The CIS troops will not be withdrawn from the Trancaucasus in the near future, Lieutenant General Beppayev, deputy commander of the Transcaucasus military district, told a SNARK agency correspondent. The Army continues as before to guard the Commonwealth's external frontiers, he noted.

Withdrawing Forces May Disable Equipment

LD1503114292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0950 GMT 15 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section: "CIS Armed Forces To Leave Armenia and Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Moscow—Withdrawal of Fourth Army from Azerbaijan and of Seventh Army from Armenia is unavoidable, but this will take no less than half a year, believes a CIS Joint Armed Forces (JAF) leader. On March 14, while speaking with journalists, CIS JAF General Staff commander, Col.-Gen. Viktor Samsonov also stressed the fact that indispensability of withdrawal was prompted in the first turn, by the stand taken by the Armenian and Azerbaijani parties towards the CIS Armed Forces.

The only problem is where and how to settle 27,000 families of military men. The CIS main commissariat could settle nine-thousand families in departmental sanatoria, but it would take a corresponding decision of the Russian government to provide for all the others. Regrettably, emphasized Samsonov, after the statement of the Russian government's readiness to adopt under its jurisdiction forces stationed in the area of Caucasus no further steps had been taken. Legal vacuum poses yet other problems to be faced by the military. Among them: What is to be done with the combat hardware the withdrawal of which is impeded both in Yerevan and in Baku? The CIS main commissariat is ready, provided the agreement has been reached, to pass over and to sell its property to the parties excepting armaments, or if no agreement has emerged, to take it out to Russia by force, stated the General Staff commander.

Samsonov told that on March 16 he had issued a command to remove all Army outposts on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. In the event if the withdrawal of the combat hardware gets impeded, an order is to render it unoperational. The main objective is to preserve the personnel, not to make CIS military men deaths in the area of conflicts possible, believes Samsonov.

Army Units Accused of Siding with Azerbaijan

PM1303132192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 92 First Edition p 7

[Article by Arsen Melik-Shakhnazarov, Moscow correspondent of the newspaper AZAT ARTSAKH ("Free

Artsakh"), under the "Opinion" rubric: "Regiment Withdrawn, But Does Operation Continue?"]

[Text] Does Russia need to intervene in events in the Transcaucasus? The idea has been increasingly voiced of late that such intervention would be contrary to the new Russia's interests. However, the intervention in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by the CIS military leadership (and, consequently, by the Russian military leadership too) continues. And it is very one-sided.

Thus, the 366th Regiment has been withdrawn from Nagorno-Karabakh. Even Colonel General Boris Gromov—one of the main figures in the Afghan War—was involved in this operation. The withdrawal of the regiment and its combat hardware from a Stepanakert that is being blockaded and shelled by "Grad" rocket launchers has deprived the civilian residents of their last hope of military protection. Moreover, in order to safeguard the regiment's withdrawal, units of the Gyandzha Airborne Assault Division of CIS troops entered Nagorno-Karabakh. Following the 366th Regiment's withdrawal, the airborne assault troops are remaining behind in remote [glubinnyy] parts of Nagorno-Karabakh. They have been blockading several Armenian villages in Nagorno-Karabakh's Askeranskiy Rayon, and have cut off the Stepanakert-Mardakert road in the region of the villages of Balludzha and Mekhtishen—which indirectly helped to ensure the Azerbaijani Army's success in its combat operations against Mardakertskiy Rayon 5-6 March. The helpless Armenian village of Kazanchi was wiped out and dozens of its inhabitants—including women and children—were killed. The airborne assault troops went on the rampage and pillaged, and on the morning of 6 March killed a 60-year-old man in the village of Balludzha. The actions of the Gyandzha Airborne Troops division pinned down the Armenian self-defense forces in the rear of Nagorno-Karabakh, while Azerbaijani units were freely attacking Nagorno-Karabakh's eastern borders. The entire operation to withdraw the regiment was led by General Gromov.

Observers are also noting that officers and men from the CIS 4th Army deployed in Azerbaijan have been participating in the fighting on the side of the Azerbaijani National Army. A lot of armored equipment, tanks, and Mi-24 combat helicopters controlled by 4th Army servicemen have been taking part in the Azerbaijani forces' latest offensives against Nagorno-Karabakh. All this is happening at a time when Azerbaijan, which is expediting the creation of its own army, has already had transferred to it considerable amounts of military units and armaments—including the Caspian Flotilla, a helicopter squadron, and other military property. A number of other installations—the motorized rifle regiment in Lenkoran, and the Agdam and Baku (in the settlement of Nasosnyy) ammunition dumps of the Transcaucasus Military District—have been seized by the Azerbaijani Army without any opposition from the airborne assault units.

Meanwhile, airborne assault subunits were blowing up any of the Stepanakert Regiment's equipment which could not be withdrawn from the region because it was faulty.

You get the impression that the CIS military leadership, in transferring huge quantities of deadly armaments to 7-million-strong Azerbaijan, was concerned to ensure that not a single item of equipment remained behind in the 180,000-strong Nagorno-Karabakh. The transfer of armaments to Baku was once again organized by General Boris Gromov and Fleet Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, the former commander in chief of the USSR Navy and until recently a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet from Lenkoranskiy Electoral District in Azerbaijan.

The current actions by the CIS military leadership condemn the Nagorno-Karabakh people to new casualties and are already involving the Russians serving in Azerbaijan in a bloody conflict.

This was already the case under Yazov and Pugo. Meanwhile, according to certain reports, the Armenian self-defense forces are discussing whether to capture the mercenaries fighting on the Azerbaijani Army side. After all, Baku is in no hurry to exchange its "own" prisoners for Nagorno-Karabakh hostages...

Little Progress Seen on CIS Army Issue

MK1303141592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 pp 1-2

[Pavel Felgengauer report under the "Army" rubric: "Again There Will Be No Unified Approach to the Problem of the Armed Forces in Kiev. Yet Another Package of Military Documents Has Been Prepared for the CIS Presidents"]

[Text] At the beginning of this week—9-10 March—another meeting of military representatives of the CIS republics was held in Moscow. The agenda of these meetings is not notable for its diversity: A package of documents relating to defense issues, or, to be more accurate, two packages of documents, were examined. One of these will be presented at the conference of CIS heads of state 13 March in Moscow, and the other will be dispatched to Kiev, to the congress of CIS presidents, which will be held 20 March.

This package of documents, like all those prepared earlier, was formulated in Moscow within the apparatus of the former Defense Ministry (now the CIS High Command). Representatives from the newly established and therefore small-scale republic defense structures basically had no hand at all in formulating the documents, and, as before, the "plenipotentiary representatives" who assembled in Moscow for the latest conference had no real powers to conduct serious negotiations. Today it is already possible to predict that any position seemingly agreed in Moscow will require further discussions in Kiev, just as if the preliminary conference had never taken place. But, as with all previous summits,

there will not be enough time to do any serious work. Especially as the package of documents that has been prepared (and has piled up from earlier unsuccessful meetings) has now reached monstrous proportions—the bundle of papers is now 4 cm thick and weighs several kilograms.

It should be noted, however, that the agreements prepared in the Main Command are logical and consistent enough. If we assume that, in the unlikely event that they are all approved at one go by the congress of presidents and then ratified without substantial amendments, the former USSR Armed Forces will be transformed into (renamed as?) the CIS Joint Forces and a large number of the legal and organizational issues associated with this transformation will be resolved. But the whole point, however, is that the package of documents has to be accepted in its entirety: If the presidents start signing further separate temporary agreements, then the CIS Armed Forces will still remain "outside the law." The presidents will sign decrees, the commanders in chief (and mere commanders as well) will sign orders, and the inevitable contradictions will have to be cleared up in accordance with the tradition prevailing in the CIS: By strong-arm methods.

The Armed Forces must have a reliable legal basis. In Western states the appropriate legislation is rather complex and bulky. But in the CIS there is no normal legislative organ, and the presidents' meeting is incapable of taking the place of the Union parliament that no longer exists today (and the CIS Main Command is incapable of taking the place of the parliamentary committee on legislation). So nobody is awaiting the results of the new summit in Kiev with bated breath: The problems of a unified army will again not be resolved there.

On 10 March the Russian parliamentary Security and Defense Committee examined the package of documents prepared for the summit in Kiev and unanimously came out against signing it. The pressure on President Yeltsin both from a number of influential advisers and from parliament is thus growing. The government is again saying that "a solution of the question of establishing a Russian Defense Ministry is a matter of just a few days."

We may assume that this decision will indeed be made and Russia will become a "normal" state with its own army, not the vaguely foreign CIS Army stationed on Russian soil. With the establishment of a Russian Army, radical army reform could begin. The idea of a national (Russian) army is too popular in the officer corps, and it is unlikely that the few voices advocating the preservation of "unified Soviet Armed Forces whatever the cost" would be able to seriously oppose the changes.

But most likely the situation will remain uncertain—which, on the whole, is Yeltsin's style. A Defense Ministry will probably be set up, but it will be merely decorative—without troops and with a small budget, an insignificant makeweight against the mighty CIS Main Command. And the unified Armed Forces will continue to disintegrate in an uncontrolled and "uncivilized" manner into increasingly small segments or some resolute general (or generals) who know how to halt the uncontrolled process of disintegration will turn up. Whereupon the situation could suddenly change: Instead of the painful and difficult process of adapting the unified Armed Forces and the essentially unified military-industrial complex to the incomprehensible CIS, an attempt might be made to alter CIS and Russian political structures in an appropriate manner. It is well known that many revolutions end up by reconstituting much the same structure that everything began with.

Media

TASS Carries Press Review for 14 Mar

LD1403074192 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT 14 Mar 92

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—Internal political events in CIS states and other republics of the former Soviet Union are the central topic in today's press. Newspapers carry information from Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, the Chechen Republic and the Dnester region, where the situation remains tense. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, in particular, carries a report, made available to the editorial office of the newspaper by the permanent mission of Azerbaijan in Moscow, about tragic events in the city of Khodzhaly, Nagorno-Karabakh, on February 25-26, this year.

Newspapers run articles about a meeting which is planned to be held on the Manezh Square in Moscow on March 17 and a "sixth extraordinary congress of USSR people's deputies" slated for the same day.

The mayor of Moscow is known to have allowed the holding of such a meeting. As far as the congress is concerned, the Russian parliament's Presidium recognised the actions of its organisers as unconstitutional.

Nevertheless, USSR People's Deputy Sazhi Umalatova, head of the congress organising committee, said in an interview with SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA that "the congress will be held despite threats and intimidations." She maintains that 1,400 former USSR deputies have already expressed their consent to attend the congress.

"We have one goal: to restore legality in the country and to accomplish the people's will expressed during the referendum on March 17, 1991," Umalatova said. The same newspaper carries a statement by the organising committee of the planned meeting on the manege square that "there are no groups of militants among organisations that are taking part in preparing the meeting".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes that it has been impossible to get to know a venue of the congress in

Moscow because the organisers prepared several options which "are kept secret" until the last moment.

"Laying historical claims is the way to nowhere, the way to death and, ultimately, to degeneration," Russia's Vice-President Rutskoy stated in an address to the citizens of Russia in view of the arisen issue concerning the state independence of Tatarstan. His address is published in today's PRAVDA.

"If we fail to realise in our hearts that Russia is not just a chance agglomeration of territories and tribes but is a living historical organism which is not subject to an arbitrary dismemberment, then we are unworthy of our great common past," the vice-president pointed out, emphasising that a "partitioning of Russia is tantamount to death".

Gennadiy Burbulis, state secretary and first deputy head of the government of the Russian Federation, comments in today's TRUD on the emergence of a permanently functioning agency last week—a conference for the protection of the citizen, property and state power bodies against organised crime.

The purposes of this comprehensive informational and analytical agency, which will bring together executives of various departments approximately once a week, are to estimate the situation and the resources of the Russian authorities in purposeful and effective action to combat organised crime.

"Corruption is a term which is not new to Russian law enforcement agencies," Burbulis said. "But it is precisely now that corruption, connected with the launch of economic reforms that are unprecedented in Russia's history, is assuming a greedy, predatory and almost sweeping character.

"Specifically, disadvantageous contracts with foreign firms are being concluded not without direct complicity on the part of corrupt officials, and the export of raw materials has assumed immense proportions".

Prime Minister Vitold Fokin of Ukraine, in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, discusses a mechanism of responsibility for the repayment of the foreign debt of the former Soviet Union. "Joint-and-several liability is to Western creditors precisely the guarantee of the repayment of the debts of insolvent republics. The former Soviet Union's eight republics that signed the October 28 memorandum recognised Russia as such a guarantor," Fokin points out.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) runs the texts of addresses by the coordinating council of officers' assemblies of the joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to the CIS heads of state and to the officers' assemblies and the officer personnel of CIS troops and forces. The addresses were adopted at the council's meeting on March 12, 1992.

"Japan does not establishe priorities with regard to any CIS member-state. But as far as the Russian Federation—a great power that borders on Japan—is concerned, we would like to establish relations of strong mutual trust and friendship with it, settling the problem of the northern territories and concluding without delay a peace treaty, which has not yet been signed even 47 years after the war ended, in order to ensure the unfolding of potentialities in bilateral relations," Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa said in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

PRAVDA announces the suspension of the publication of the newspaper in view of a lack of funds for printing it.

Paper Apologizes for Misattributing Article

MK1303142592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 p 2

[Editorial Office "Correction"]

[Text] Through the fault of the editorial office, an error was made in issue No. 49 dated 12 March. The author of the article headlined "Congress of Yesterday's Men or... the Men of Tomorrow?" was Oleg Borodin, USSR people's deputy and cochairman of the People's Party of Russia. The editorial office offers its apologies to the author.

International Affairs

Troops Abroad Under Russian Jurisdiction

LD1603095192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0715 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Osinskiy]

[Excerpt] Berlin, 16 Mar (TASS)—In accordance with a decree by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the Western Group of Troops (WGT), as well as troops temporarily stationed in Poland, Mongolia, and Cuba, have been transferred to the jurisdiction of Russia. They will continue, however, to be subordinate to the CIS Armed Forces commander in chief until the Russian Defense Ministry is established. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told this at WGT headquarters. [passage omitted]

More on Troops

LD1503195592 Berlin ADN in German 1337 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] Angermuende (ADN)—The Western Group of the Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union stationed in Germany is now under the command of Russia. This was confirmed on 15 March by Major General Vyacheslav Krivulin, vice president of a Russian conversion company dealing with the housing construction for returning army members. A relevant decree issued by Yeltsin on 4 March was handed over on 12 March to the Supreme Command in Wuensdorf by a representative of the Russian State Committee for Defense. At the same time the Bundeswehr liaison command with the Western Group has been informed about the step, Krivulin said at a press briefing held on the premises of Messrs. Buck, a German technology firm from Pinnow near Angermuende.

Krivulin assumed that Yeltsin has coordinated the Russian decision with the other CIS states. Up to 20 March, the date of the next meeting of CIS presidents, the Western Group troops will still be officially under the command of CIS Defense Minister Shaposhnikov. However, the leadership change has already in fact taken place since Russia has taken over the financial obligations. The Western Group has "noted positively" the Russian decision, Krivulin said. Furthermore, the German side has not raised any fundamental reservations.

Kozyrev, Romanian Counterpart Discuss Ties

LD1303184792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1423 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase who arrived in Moscow on a one-day visit have discussed the development of ties between Russia and Romania and their relations with other independent states of the Commonwealth. The ministers paid special attention to the current situation in Moldova. Andrey Kozyrev gave a positive evaluation to the official statement by the Romanian side that while developing good relations with Moldova, Romania is coming out in support of its sovereignty and of a peaceful political settlement of all questions relating to developments in and around Moldova on the basis of the norms of international law and CSCE documents. Minister Adrian Nastase gave a high apprisal of Russia's position, in particular its appeal to the leadership and population of Moldova, to show restraint and solve all problems existing in this state by peaceful means.

Kozyrev Advocates Allied Relations With West

LD1603061392 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 15 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Prokhorov]

[Text] Tokyo, March 15 TASS—At present Russia has no previous ideological, political and military contradictions with Western countries. Therefore the establisment of friendly, allied relations with them in the future is being put on the agenda, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stated in a written response to questions from the newspaper YOMIURI SHIMBUN.

At the same time, the minister said, Russia as a Eurasian country also intends to play an active, constructive role in tackling the problems of the Asia-Pacific region.

In response to a question about the targets of strategic missiles of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, Kozyrev said that, in accordance with the Russian leadership's statement, nuclear weapons delivery vehicles are switched into such a status under which they have no specific targets assigned for them. Therefore, they are not targeted either on the United States and West European countries or Japan, China and other Asian countries, the minister emphasised.

Touching upon Russo-Japanese relations, Kozyrev stated that the time had come to build them on the basis of partnership and cooperation. He reaffirmed the Russian Government's intention to resolve the existing problems between the two countries, including the territorial one before the end of the current decade.

At the same time, Kozyrev pointed out the importance of the establishment of a favourable atmosphere in relations between the two countries. The two sides' efforts are necessary for that, he added.

Kozyrev Begins Week-Long Far East Trip

LD1603102192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has left for a week-long foreign tour during which he will visit China, Korea, and Japan. Before he flew out of

Moscow, Kozyrev commented on the aims of his trip. Speaking about the prospects for a peace treaty with Japan, he said:

[Kozyrev] "The main thing now is to concentrate on the development of friendly relations in all spheres—in the economy, in culture, and so forth—but also, of course, to proceed to a peace treaty. We need a modern treaty. Are we really going to keep living in the last century? Public opinion must be taken into account in this matter. I think that our principles of justice and international law will, in the final analysis, be understood by the public. The people are always for justice and a legal approach. I am profoundly convinced of this."

Answering a question about the prospects for Sino-Russian and Russian-Korean relations, Andrey Kozyrev pointed out:

[Kozyrev] "I have great expectations. After all, we do have 4,300 km of common border. This is a border of friendship, an open border, but today we must strive to ensure it remains such. I think we have all the opportunities for our ties to become deeper in all respects. Indeed, we have no option other than good-neighborly relations. I think that this has been dragged out somewhat, but not through our own fault, just objective circumstances. I am glad that while democratic Russia has only existed as an independent state for three or four months, already its foreign minister has managed to visit China. This is a major area in our foreign policy. The aims of the visit to all three countries consist of implementing the presidential strategy and the strategy of the Supreme Soviet, and in creating a zone of good-neighborly relations on all Russian borders. Korea is without doubt a promising partner from whom we can learn a good deal, with whom we have things to trade, and with whom, I think, we have very good prospects for cooperation in practically all spheres. One should probably ask more accurately why we are only now going to Korea. The answer is that we have been dealing with no less important relations in the west of the continent, so the question of going did not arise."

The Russian foreign minister also singled out the question of Russia's position in settling the situation on the Korean peninsula.

[Kozyrev] "We seek stability there, no nuclear weapons there, and guarantees that nuclear weapons will not reappear there in any area. We want a just, peaceful, and democratic settlement of issues that I know are sensitive for both sides. The main thing is to surmount the past and move to the future. In any event, we are in favor of this. All three countries I am going to, I am already well aware, have a benevolent and businesslike attitude toward this. They want Russia to overcome this difficult period and to be a normal, great partner. No one has any doubt about this. For our part, we have no doubt that all three of these states—China, Korea, and Japan—are our natural partners. They are countries with whom Russians have lived alongside for centuries and will continue to live alongside for centuries. These will be friendly relations, free of the problems of the past, of ideological convictions, and so on. The strategy is a very simple one: good-neighborly relations and cooperation."

Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Beijing today.

Arrives in Beijing

LD1603033292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0305 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Beijing, 16 Mar (TASS)— Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived here today in a special airplane on an official visit. During his two-day stay in Beijing, he will meet PRC State Council Premier Li Peng and will hold talks with PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. The sides with discuss in detail questions of bilateral relations and topical international issues of mutual interest. During the talks, opinions will be exchanged regarding the present situation in the Asiatic and Pacific region. The heads of the Russian and Chinese foreign departments will sign a protocol on exchanging documents of ratification for the agreement on the eastern section fo the Russian-Chinese frontier which was approved by the parliaments of both countries.

China is the first stage in the Russian minister's trip to a number of Asian countries. He will also visit the Republic of Korea and Japan.

Good neighborly relations have taken shape already between Russia and China and there are no doubts that they will continue to develop successfully in the future as well, Andrey Kozyrev told journalists at Beijing's Shoudu Airport. "This is my first visit to the PRC in the capacity of Russian foreign minister and I link great hopes with it," he added.

Our two countries have a very long common frontier, the minister noted. Not just the Far East, but also the western areas of Russia "are drawn to China and maintain long relations of friendship and neighborliness with it."

In conclusion, Andrey Kozyrev stressed that at the present stage of developing bilateral ties "it is essential to begin preparations for an exchange of visits at the highest level."

During the second half of today, talks will take place in Dyaoyuytay, the governmental residence for high-ranking guests, between the Russian and Chinese foreign policy department heads.

Signs Border Protocol

LD1603140492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1209 GMT 16 Mar 92

[by ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Beijing, 16 Mar (TASS)—This evening Russian Federation and PRC foreign ministers Andrey Kozyrev and Qian Qichen signed a protocol on the exchange of instruments of ratification to the agreement on the eastern section of the Russian-Chinese state border. This agreement was approved recently by the parliaments of the two countries, and comes into force today.

After the ceremony, the ministers gave a high assessment of the importance of the document signed, stressing that "it is living evidence of the positive continuation of ties between the two countries".

Kozyrev Meets EC Foreign Ministers 10 Mar

PM1603132792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 92 First Edition p 7

[Unattributed report: "A. Kozyrev in Brussels"]

[Text] On the afternoon of Tuesday 10 March, a meeting took place between Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is in Brussels, and the foreign ministers of the EC countries. The heads of the foreign policy departments examined a package of problems connected with the expansion of cooperation between Russia and the "twelve" and the possibility of EC participation in settling the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

The Russian minister expressed satisfaction in connection with "the wish voiced by my European counterparts that Russia will with time become an EC member." He noted that there was also talk of joint efforts by Russia and the EC to achieve a cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh and to open up talks between the warring sides and to unblock the roads to render humanitarian aid. He said that this "imposes additional political commitments on the opposing sides."

Aven Notes 'Degree of Caution' by PRC

PM1203165192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 92 First Edition p 7

[ITAR-TASS report under the general heading "Visit": "From Caution to Dynamic Partnership"]

[Text] "I have the very best impressions from my visit," Petr Aven, Russian minister of foreign economic relations, told journalists at Beijing's Shoudu airport. His six-day stay in China ended yesterday, 10 March.

According to the minister, "increased confidence in the prospects for cooperation is equally as important a result of my trip as the trade and economic agreement which was signed. The Chinese submitted new and interesting proposals, especially in the sphere of military and technical cooperation."

A shift in the social order is underway in our country, P. Aven said, and it is possible that a degree of caution on China's part is linked to this. "As far as I can see, we have managed to convince the Chinese that, despite all the changes and problems, we look on China as a long-term and highly valued partner."

Further on PRC Visit

LD1403182792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Report by correspondent V. Kulikov on a visit by "Russian Foreign Minister" Petr Aven and an accompanying Russian trade and economic delegation to the PRC; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The result of the visit was the signing of a trade and economic agreement between Russia and the PRC, the first treaty of its kind between the two countries. The treaty defines basic principles of trade and economic relations between our states, such as providing most-favored-nation status in trade, a system of mutual accounts, and so on and so forth. So, what about the numerous agreements previously concluded between the former USSR and the PRC?

[Begin Aven recording] As for relations with the PRC, we regard Russia as the legal successor to all treaties signed with the PRC. Therefore, there have not been and there will not be any refusals regarding previous responsibilities and previous agreements. [end recording]

A new feature in our relations with the PRC is arms sales. There are reports that Russia is playing a double game, having decided to sell arms to both the PRC and Taiwan. The minister refuted this statement:

[Begin Aven recording] Taiwan has approached us, but so far there are only talks, so to speak. [end recording]

Japanese Prime Minister Cited on Relations

LD1403062992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0427 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 14 Mar (TASS)—"Japan does not set priorities in relations with any state of the CIS, but as far as the Russian Federation—a great power bordering on Japan—is concerned, we would like to establish relations of lasting mutual trust and friendship with it, having settled the problem of the northern territories and having concluded urgently a peace treaty, still absent even 47 years after the war, in order to guarantee the opening up of the major potential possibilities of bilateral relations," Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa said in an interview to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

"When the territorial problem has been resolved and a peace treaty signed, friendly relations between the two countries will stand on a long-lasting and stable foundation and then it will be possible to grant large governmental credits and an even more favorable atmosphere will arise for the activity of Japanese entrepreneurs, including trade and investment," the prime minister noted. "I think that Russia will be a constructive partner

in the process of the future creation of a new order and in this respect there must be a breakthrough in Japanese-Russian relations through the solution of the problem of the northern territories, the last remaining survivor of the cold war, Kiichi Miyazawa stated.

IMF Aid Agreement Reached 'in Principle'

MK1403083592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 1

[Mikhail Leontyev report under the "Aid" rubric: "Russia Could Get $18 Billion From the IMF, While Ukraine Risks Losing Even the Prospect of Receiving Western Aid"]

[Text] At talks in Washington between a Russian delegation headed by the government's plenipotentiary representative Konstantin Kagalovskiy and the IMF leadership, agreement in principle has been reached about the scale of financial aid to Russia in 1992. The sum will amount to $12 billion instead of the $6 billion proposed by IMF representatives at talks in Moscow. Taking into account possible aid to other CIS states that signed the agreement on joint liability for the foreign debt, the total could come to $17 billion if these states begin meeting their share of the obligations—which, admittedly, none of them is yet doing except Russia.

The agreement that has been reached is the direct result of the Russian Government's approval of a Memorandum on Economic Policy envisaging the systematic continuation of a policy of financial stabilization. By pursuing this policy, and specifically by guaranteeing the internal convertibility of the ruble at a fixed exchange rate, Russia will get additional credit of $6 billion to set up a stabilization fund. (Under an agreement between the G-7 [Group of Seven] countries, the IMF is to be the sole accumulator and controller of Western financial aid to CIS countries.)

It is quite clear that the IMF has been impressed by the government's approval of such a rigorous monetary program, whose approval has already been confirmed by the uncommonly resolute policy of recent months. On the other hand, it is not hard to surmise that the ability of a government in its right mind to decide to take the measures envisaged in this memorandum is to a considerable extent dependent on the agreement of the IMF and the world community to support these measures with appropriate financial aid. In principle, it can be claimed that, without such aid, the aims indicated in the memorandum are unattainable either on the economic or, to a far greater extent, on the political level.

Economic Adviser Reveals Assistance Needed

LD1303152792 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Kuleshov]

[Text] Paris, March 13 TASS—Russia needs 18.3 billion U.S. dollars worth of assistance this year to avoid chaos, believes the Russian Government's economic adviser and Harvard University Professor Jeffrey Sachs.

The next two months will be vitally important for the Russian future, Sachs told the Paris teachers' college on Thursday [12 March].

If the Russian Government's stabilization plan fails, there will be no other chance: The country will face hyper-inflation, political destabilization and inter-ethnic strife, said Sachs.

Georgian Parliament in Exile Backs Gamsakhurdia

OW1303212092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Groznyy, tho capital of tho Chechen republic, there has been a session of the Georgian parliament in exile. It described the events in Tbilisi in December and January, as a military coup and called on the Georgian people to start a civil disobedience campaign. Of the 13 members of the previous Georgian parliament 70 supporting Gamsakhurdia attended the session [sentence as received].

The parliament of Georgia was disbanded by the new authorities following Gamsakhurdia's escape from Tbilisi last January.

Reports from Groznyy say the session dismissed the legal acts adopted by the Military Council of Georgia and the Provisional Government, as well as the emergence of a State Council under Eduard Shevardnadze. The Georgian parliament in exile says the State Council is an umbrella for a "junta", and that Eduard Shevardnadze is a covert and overt mastermind of the coup. The session said that only the Constitution and laws adopted in a legal way by legally elected authorities could operate in the territory of Georgia.

The parliament in exile issued an appeal to the Parliament of Russia saying that the coup had taken place with Russia's tacit consent and with the participation of CIS troops, who supplied the opposition with weapons and other military equipment. The appeal demands a stop to interference in Georgia's internal affairs and the withdrawal of the 366th infantry regiment, redeployed to Georgian from Nagorno-Karabakh.

In a message to the governments and peoples of the world, the United Nations Security Council and the CSCE member-conference the current authorities of Georgia have been declared illegal from all points of view. The Georgian parliament in exile has deplored the fact that the world Community has failed to respond in any way to the events in Georgia.

Rutskoy: Army Must Withdraw From Transcaucasus

PM1603085692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Officer Hostages Are Free"]

[Excerpts] As reported in IZVESTIYA earlier, all 10 officers—commanders of an antiaircraft missile brigade and technical base—who were taken hostage by the "Getashen avengers" in Artik city (25 km south of Kumayri) 8 March, are free after four days in captivity. Two of them, Lieutenant Colonels Valeriy Reshetnikov and Valentin Kovbasyuk, attended a news conference in Moscow organized for Russian and foreign journalists by the CIS Joint Armed Forces Committee for Work with Personnel.

Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy took part in the news conference. [passage omitted]

Russia's vice president reiterated his position in categorical terms: The 4th and 7th Armies must be withdrawn from Azerbaijan and Armenia without delay, together with all their weapons and combat hardware. What cannot be taken out must be destroyed on the spot. As a first step it is necessary as a matter of urgency to evacuate the families of officers and warrant officers from the Transcaucasus.

The Joint Armed Forces Command has enough rest homes and sanatoria to house all the women and children for a relatively long period, he said. It is necessary to move on from words to actions as regards the construction of housing for the military.

Rutskoy proposes that the Army be deployed in "hot spots" only on the basis of legislative, interstate decisions and on a contract basis.

Russia's officers, the vice president declared, have the right to self-defense and must exercise it.

An appeal to the Supreme Soviets of CIS states for an immediate discussion of the question of the legal status of the Joint Armed Forces deployed on their territories was read out at the news conference. The military are demanding that such an agreement be signed in Kiev 20 March and that all possible measures be taken to ensure normal living and service conditions for servicemen.

Dudayev Receives Letter From Dnestr 'Republic'

OW1303194692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1659 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "INTERFAX" learned in Groznyy that President Dudayev received a letter from the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Republic Grigoriy Marakutsiy proposing that the two republics cooperate. In particular the letter said: The Supreme Soviet and the government of the Dnestr Republic propose that the establishment of long term relations in political and economic spheres be considered. We request that representatives be sent to prepare the agreement.

Dudayev sent the inquiry, which had arrived in February, to parliament.

Estonia, Russia Dispute Border Region

PM1603100892 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 First Edition p 7

[Correspondent Valentina Pyankova report: "'Canards' Fly Over the Border"]

[Text] Another "canard" has flown from the television nest. On 9 March the news service showed a map of the border region between Pskov Oblast and Estonia which denoted the territory of Pechorskiy Rayon in a special way. The Balts really do now lay claim to this territory as having been incorporated in bourgeois Estonia under the terms of the Peace of Tartu, which Lenin signed in 1920. This is of great concern to the people of Pechorskiy Rayon, the overwhelming majority of whom are of Russian [russkiy] origin. In the opinion of local inhabitants, the Russian [rossiyskiy] authorities have been observing neutrality for too long with regard to the claims to primordially Russian [russkiy] lands.

"However, a television report claiming that the Estonian side is digging trenches on the border territory and setting up combat armaments is a lie amounting to a provocation," Pavel Bryusov, deputy head of the Pechorskiy Rayon administration, believes.

It might not be a deliberate lie, but it is a dangerous one. A delegation is being formed in the oblast right now for talks with Estonia.

Incidentally, speaking of trenches, some Estonians really are digging into the ground in forests on nearby roads well away from customs posts. Only they are not digging but filling in the ditches which, according to the Russian [rossiyskiy] side's scheme, are to act as an obstacle to the illegal passage of gasoline and other contraband into Estonia.

Diplomat on Servicemen's Release in Afghanistan

OW1003181992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1329 GMT 10 Mar 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" Feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The destiny of former Soviet servicemen who are in the hands of Afghan mujaheddin will depend on the efforts to find a common language with field commanders. As DP's ["Diplomatic Panorama"] correspondent was told by a Russian diplomat who made a trip to Islamabad last month, Russia's Foreign Ministry intends to continue its contacts connected with this issue with the mujjaheddin. With the government of Afghanistan

and with the countries involved in the Afghan conflict (Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the U.S.).

However, the diplomat said, special attention should be given to negotiations with field commanders, not with the opposition leaders based in Peshawar. One of them is the head of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan Ahmad Shah Masoijd who in the course of contacts with Russian officials made it clear that "he will be able to free prisoners of war without prompting from Peshawar".

Moscow, Kazakhstan Cooperation Accord Signed

PM1603150392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Vladimir Ardayev, Eduard Gonzalyez report: "Yu. Luzhkov's Several Useful Hours in Alma-Ata"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Moscow Vice Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov flew to Alma-Ata for several hours in order to sign an agreement on comprehensive cooperation between the governments of Moscow and Kazakhstan with republic Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko. Kazakh Republic President N. Nazarbayev took part in the conversation with the Moscow delegation.

It was long thought that ideological and friendly bonds unite the country's capital and the republics. Therefore, mutual agreements usually abounded in generalities and declarations. The new agreement has inherited some of this. On the other hand, the supplements to it are absolutely specific. We give you metal, bulldozers, onions, garlic, and melons, and you give us automobiles, tower cranes, linoleum, and other things besides.

The agreement is of a clearly market nature, it is true, being for the present on a typical barter level. But today, when rubles are useful only for arithmetical operations, other relationships are scarcely possible. Luzhkov said that the volume of mutual deliveries will be a extremely important factor in the life between Moscow and Kazakhstan. He believes that the contracting parties have much in common: a managed economy, a functioning industry, and a gradual advance toward the market.

The sides had intended to conclude the agreement for one year, but in the talks a program for about five years or even longer was planned.

Khasbulatov Meets Socialist International Leader

LD1303143292 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, March 13 TASS—"The Russian leadership attaches immense importance to cooperation with the Socialist International, which has made a great contribution in development of democracy in Europe", the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Ruslan Khasbulatov said today. Khasbulatov received today the deputy chairman of the Socialist International, Hans-Jochen Vogel, who arrived today in Moscow at the end of his visit to twelve republics of the former Soviet Union. The goal of the visit is to receive information about social, political and economic processes in these countries.

The problems these countries, the former republics of the now defunct Soviet Union, face "turned out to be much more complicated than they were thought to be on the eve of the visit", Hans-Jochen Vogel said.

Ruslan Khasbulatov acquainted the deputy chairman of the Socialist International with the progress of the economic reforms, the political situation in Russia and problems it is facing in the spheres of national relations and conversion. Russia respects sovereignty and independence of former union republics. But there is a need to find ways to solve common problems, he emphasised.

International Fund To Help Science Suggested

LD1403102792 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 14 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitriy Polunin]

[Text] Rome, March 14 TASS—The idea of establishing an international fund in support of Russian theoretical science was suggested by 130 scientists from various countries who gathered for a scientific seminar in the Italian town of La Thuile, Val D'aosta region. They adopted a document called an Aosta appeal.

A mass emigration of the best Russian scientists may soon result in the disappearance of whole scientific schools and centres, which would have disastrous consequences, the appeal says in particular.

The "brain drain" from Russia to other countries can give only temporary advantages to those states. It would be a great error to regard Russian science—which is an integral and valuable component of world science and culture—as a commodity, the appeal points out.

Participants in the seminar in La Thuile called on the government of Russia and the leaders and scientific community of industrially developed Western countries to do everything depending on them to prevent a break-up of Russian scientific institutions.

The authors of the appeal urged international scientific organisations and universities to develop cooperation and exchanges with Russian theoretical research centres with a view to implementing joint projects on both bilateral and multilateral basis.

This kind of cooperation, the document notes, would make it possible to utilise Russian scientific potential on a wider scale for the benefit of the entire world community and would contribute to reorienting it from predominantly military goals to peaceful research efforts.

EC Commission To Give Allowances to Needy

LD0903164492 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 7 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow, March 7 TASS—More than 400,000 Muscovites—primarily solitary pensioners and children from families that lost their breadwinners—will receive a monthly allowance of 150 rubles from March to May 1992. Over the same period, 45-ruble subsidies for school lunches will be paid monthly for 618,000 Moscow schoolchildren in fifth to 11th forms.

The allowances are being assigned within the framework of the implementation of a programme launched this week for the social support for the needy sections of the Moscow population with the assistance of the counterpart social fund, the mission of the Commission of the European Communities [CEC] in Moscow announced today.

The fund has been formed on the basis of money received from the sale of food provided by the European Community as humanitarian aid.

According to CEC, more than a million people will be paid the allowances under the EC programme in the period of March to May.

The implementation of an EC programme for technical assistance to the CIS also began on March 4.

Under the programme, the EC will assign 400 million ECU as aid in carrying out an economic reform and revitilising the economy on the territory of the former Soviet Union. The Baltic states will receive EC aid amounting to 15 million ECU.

Irkutsk, Westinghouse Sign Airport Deal

PM1203164192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Vladimir Sbitnev report: "Irkutsk, the Ideal Place for a Major International Airport"]

[Text] Irkutsk—It seems that the Baykal region will soon be acquiring a major international airport. Representatives of the Irkutsk administration and the transnational company Westinghouse have signed an agreement on readiness to participate in work on this project.

In the opinion of foreign observers, Irkutsk and indeed the whole Baykal region are an ideal location for a major international airport in eastern Russia. This is a convenient junction for passenger flights from Alaska, Canada, East and South Asia, and Europe. Baykal and its surroundings are highly attractive to tourists from all countries. Finally, many Western business people have their sights set on this region, which is the heart of Siberia.

The agreement stipulates that the oblast property fund and the Baykalavia company could be the main contractors in this project. When the technical and economical details are sorted out, a powerful joint-stock company will begin to take shape which will finance not only the building of the airport and its entire essential infrastructure, but also the development of consumer services and tourism in the Baykal region. Furthermore, according to I. Smolyanin, deputy head of the administration, Irkutsk Oblast now has a construction potential capable of building facilities of any scale and complexity to world standard. All it needs is the money, as the saying goes. As an example one could mention "Bratskgesstroy," a powerful concern which has demonstrated its high standard more than once.

Participants in the negotiations included Prorectors G. Konstantinov and V. Saunin, leaders of Irkutsk State University and initiators of Russia's first Soviet-U.S. Faculty of Management which opened here. It was explained that in the initial stage they provided the link between Westinghouse and the oblast administration and produced the first survey on the region's potential for the Americans. They are now ready to train managerial staff to international standard to implement this interesting, large-scale project, which could give a new impetus to the development of the Baykal region.

Federation Affairs

Shakray Confirms Defense Ministry Set Up

LD1603123192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1159 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 16 Mar (TASS)—[passage omitted] The creation of the Russian Defense Ministry has been carried out, as Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray underlined, in accordance with the law on security recently adopted by the Russian Supreme Soviet. "This does not mean the Russian armed forces have been created by the decree, although they actually do exist already," the deputy prime minister noted.

Minister Candidates Considered

LD1303190392 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—"The possibility a major war with conventional weapons would be unleashed in Europe or Asia is almost non-existent", Andrey Kokoshin, one of the most likely candidates for the post of Russian Defense Minister, said in an interview with the ITAR-TASS weekly, "THE ORIENTAL EXPRESS", due to come out on Monday [16 March].

According to Kokoshin, the nomination of his candidacy was quite a surprise to him, but he agreed to be balloted and "in shortest possible time to formulate a Russian military

doctrine, to create the army which corresponds to the demands of national security and political democracy".

Kokoshin, 46, currently deputy director of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, sees the role of a civilian defense minister in outlining the military policy priorities on the basis of political criteria. "We must be definite as to which countries and which political forces may pose a threat to the country's security", Kokoshin said.

As Russia has no enemies, it does not necessarily have to have allies, but rather reliable partners, bound with Russia by "pragmatic interests", Kokoshin said.

Among possible candidates for the post of defense minister are former Soviet Army Chief of General Staff, General Vladimir Lobov, Russian State Adviser on Defense, General Konstantin Kobets and Parliamentarian Galina Starovoytova.

Civilian Predicted as Head

LD1603060392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1950 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] The decision taken by the Ukrainian president to suspend the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from the republic's territory, the new information on nuclear fuel smuggled from the former USSR which has enjoyed such scandalous exposure in the West, the capture of military hostages, the attempts to seize army weapons in the regions of national conflicts—all these together have reminded us this week about the absence of a Russian military policy and a person responsible for it.

Debates about who should be the head of the Russian Defense Ministry, were it to be created again, have flared up afresh. I shall remind you that the controversies surround the issue whether the defense minister should be a professional military man—as was the practice in Soviet Union for decades, with rare exception—or, otherwise, a civilian man as has been a long-accepted practice in most of the Western countries. This week the Committee for Defense and Security of the Russian parliament issued a recommendation to create the Russian Defense Ministry as soon as possible and appoint a civilian figure to the post of the minister.

It is remarkable that Yeltsin's adviser on military issues, General Volkogonov, has supported this idea. I shall also remind you that earlier on Ruslan Khasbulatov also supported this. And who can, in practice, be capable of leading the Russian Defense Ministry? On 12 March, at the news conference at the White House, the representatives of Democratic Russia again stated that they support the candidature of the corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 46-year old Andrey Kokoshin, one of the leading nonparty specialists on military and political problems. Incidentally, as an expert on these questions, Andrey Kokoshin already appeared in our program. According to our information, Kokoshin's candidature has lately enjoyed the increasing support within the army and military-industrial circles. Thus, several prominent leaders of military-industrial complex and some chief designers have spoken openly in favor of his appointment.

We also learned that not only members of the junior and middle army officers' ranks are actively offering their support to Kokoshin but also some generals who believe that under the present conditions a civilian figure could head a defense ministry. In the belief of a number of experts, Kokoshin's appointment to the post of defense minister would allow the build up of the so much needed and still non-existent cooperation between the liberals and moderate conservatives in supporting reforms in the sphere of defense and conversion carried out by the Russian Government.

Gaydar Reviews Consequences of Reforms

LD1503213992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1835 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Interview with Yegor Gaydar, first vice premier of the Russian Government and minister of finance, by commentator Aleksandr Shashkov, in Moscow on 15 March; from the "Facing Russia" program—recorded]

[Text] [Shashkov] Good evening. The "Facing Russia" program is on the air, and today Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, first vice premier of the Russian government and minister of finances, is replying to questions from Vesti correspondents. We will begin by defining the three main events that have taken place this week. Which events would you regard as the main ones?

[Gaydar] I think they are the signing of the federation treaty, the decision of the Constitutional Court on the wording of the question put to a referendum in Tatarstan, and the Council of Heads of Governments of the Commonwealth of Independent States on Ukraine's assumption of joint and common responsibility for servicing the debts of the former Soviet Union.

[Shashkov] All in all, our path to the signing of the federation treaty has been quite a long one and there has been much talk about it. What do you think, does the signed treaty fully reflect the interests of the republics and can one, all the same, still use the term "center"?

[Gaydar] Any treaty always reflects a balance of interests. And if it fully reflects the interests of at least one of the subjects, then a treaty will, most probably, frustrate the interests of the other subjects. I think that in this case the balance of interests has been maintained.

[Shashkov] I have heard that the draft of the text of the federation treaty aroused disagreements between the government and Supreme Soviet, that there were different attitudes, different conceptions of the federation treaty. Was this the case?

[Gaydar] No, there were no fundamental contradictions between the government and Supreme Soviet on this matter. What is the case is that this is a lengthy treaty process and the federation treaty by itself does not bring it to an end. It cannot live outside the present or the future constitution, outside the framework of the overall constitutional structure of the Russian Federation. So, I would not exaggerate the working disagreements which sometimes occur in the different Russian power structures.

[Shashkov] Do you have any comments on the treaty's text?

[Gaydar] Even if I did have any comments, I would keep them to myself.

[Shashkov] The second point which you mentioned, the second event this week, was the decision by the Constitutional Court on the referendum in Tatarstan. What do you think? Will Tatarstan be successfully preserved within Russia?

[Gaydar] I really hope so. Tatarstan has close economic, cultural, and geographical links with Russia. Without any doubt it cannot exist outside Russia. Industry in Tatarstan consists first of all of large enterprises, mostly of the military industrial complex, which are integrated into the Russian structure of production. At present they are experiencing a very difficult period of conversion. Directors of major defense enterprises of Tatarstan have recently visited me. We discussed the very difficult situation they will find themselves in even if links with Russia remain intact. Any disruption in these links will be painfully felt by the economy of Tatarstan. At the same time it is necessary to point out that any weakening of these links will also be painful for Russia. I think that keeping Tatarstan within Russia is in the best interest of our peoples.

[Shashkov] Is it realistic?

[Gaydar] I think so.

[Shashkov] One can say the same thing about Chechen-Ingushetiya, I think. Two republics—Tatarstan and Chechen-Ingushetiya—did not sign the federation treaty.

[Gaydar] Yes, I think that this fully applies to Chechen-Ingushetiya. It is an illusion to think that natural resources alone, and especially ones that are based on finite oil fields necessitating enormous costs, including investment from abroad, in order to keep the present levels of extraction, will allow one or another autonomy to create a little Kuwait for themselves. We can rebuild economic growth only by maintaining close links, by using natural resources to reconstruct the manufacturing industry and by entering the market with high technology. Only on this basis can we insure well-being. There are no other ways for anyone.

[Shashkov] If I am not mistaken, 16 documents were signed at the meeting of the heads of government?

[Gaydar] Yes, that is correct.

[Shashkov] This is actually not the first series of documents signed by the member states of the Commonwealth. There were many documents in Minsk. But there was always a question about the procedure of abiding by the agreements, about the procedure of implementation of the agreements. Are there any guarantees that these responsibilities taken by the states will be fulfilled?

[Gaydar] Let us talk in concrete terms. In fact no such volume of documents has ever been signed. This is the first series of such documents. Second, each document has a specific target and therefore it presupposes its own procedure for implementation.

Of what was signed today, naturally the most—I mean this week, not today—naturally, the most significant is the agreement by which Ukraine associates itself with joint, common responsibility for the debts of the Soviet Union. As you will probably recall, debates raged about this matter in October and November. Our Ukrainian colleagues even said that we would be cursed—the leaders of the governments of states that put their signature to joint, common responsibility for the debts of the Soviet Union. This was followed by many negotiations and they tried to reach agreements with their creditors independently and directly, but in the end, simply the logic, the tough logic of life has led Ukraine to the need, to an awareness of the need to change its stance on this matter. And then the republics, the CIS states have taken their own steps to meet Ukraine.

[Shashkov] One gets the impression that Ukraine's stance has recently softened considerably. What is this tough logic of life that has caused Ukraine's position to change so?

[Gaydar] The tough logic of life is related to the fact that it is impossible, at the will and desire of one state, even an extremely sovereign and large one, to change objective economic laws and the arrangement of financial forces in the world. First and foremost this was the result, in my view, of a realization of the real situation regarding credits.

[Shashkov] In other words a realization that they might not receive them?

[Gaydar] That no state which fails to keep to the accords reached on the debts of the Soviet Union will be able to count on access to the credit resources necessary, among other things, for the revitalization of the economy. This was stated quite unequivocally to everyone. It has simply taken time for everyone to understand that laws exist in this cruel life. Second, of course, it was the result of confrontation with serious economic problems, including the history of the introduction of the Ukrainian coupons and the subsequent failure of their practical use and an understanding of the unity of our economy. I think all this urges us toward unity. Incidentally, this is not just the case with Ukraine.

[Shashkov] And one more thing about Ukraine. In general, as far as I understand, the talks between Russia and Ukraine have been quite tough; and in talks, generally speaking, there always have to be some kind of levers of influence. The economy is the most practical lever of influence. Now Russia holds very serious levers of influence, namely gas and oil. What is your attitude to Ukraine's direct agreement with Tyumen Oblast?

[Gaydar] Today, any economic accords reached at the republican level mean first and foremost untied hands, they mean the right to seek specific mutually beneficial relations with producers. The producers of oil and gas are, first and foremost, Tyumen. So it is quite natural that, having agreed in principle with the Russian Government on quotas, the leaders of Ukraine should have turned their gaze to the place where these resources are directly concentrated, and should have begun to seek mutually acceptable accords that make it realistically possible to insure supplies.

That is the first thing. Second, I would categorically object to this kind of force: the methods of pressurizing over oil, gas with regard to all the sovereign states, and especially with regard to Ukraine. The point is that we are very closely linked to Ukraine, including culturally and economically. We are highly dependent on one another. And here, any forceful methods either from our side or from the Ukrainian side could hurt all of us very badly. We have never proposed and never used this type of forceful argument.

[Shashkov] At the session of the heads of governments, your colleagues objected to the decision by Russia on liberalization, on raising the prices of fuels.

[Gaydar] It is clear to everyone that the current price level for fuels cannot, of course, be sustained and that it is extremely low, even compared to the proportions which previously existed in the Soviet Union, in relation to other goods. Everyone realizes that this step will have to be taken. It is a question of the timing and the scope (?of the increase). We also understand that we by no means have any desire immediately to resolve all our domestic problems simply at the expense of other republics. They are not resolved in that way. We want and we are ready to gradually bring the level of domestic fuel prices up to the world level. I can and would like to remind you that today, coal in Ukraine, which today essentially determines the price of metal produced in Ukraine and also, to a significant extent, the price of metal throughout the territory of the former Soviet Union, on the territory of the ruble [R] zone, is already set at a price significantly higher than that which will exist in Russia after the proposed liberalization of prices.

[Shashkov] Incidentally, on the scope of prices. This issue has been very widely discussed in the press lately. There are all sorts of conjectures on to the price of gasoline, ranging from R12 to R20, and the figure may even, I think, have reached R22. How much will gasoline cost, approximately?

[Gaydar] Well, we believe that a liter of gasoline will cost around R6. Naturally, as this will be a free price, this is simply a forecast price for the first stage immediately after the unfreezing.

[Shashkov] So we are talking about a figure of R6?

[Gaydar] About R5 or 6.

[Shashkov] What do expect from the forthcoming Congress of People's Deputies?

[Gaydar] A fierce political struggle, stormy debates over economic policy, sharp criticism of the government for the inevitable consequences of the economic reforms and the stabilization policy which we have been forced to pursue, debates over the constitution, and, I hope, overall support for our course, our general reform course.

[Shashkov] Do you believe that no danger exists for the government?

[Gaydar] I think that today the upper hand will be gained by the forces of common sense which understand that playing leap frog with governments, regardless of how one may regard the present government, will be very dangerous and harmful for the country.

[Shashkov] Last time we met you advised me to get rid of any hard currency I might have. The rate of the dollar is once again rising against the ruble. Do you continue to adhere to your advice?

[Gaydar] Absolutely, absolutely. That is, I can say, as I told you then, there will now be brief, short-term fluctuations on the hard currency market. At the moment they are naturally related to changes in inflationary expectations. The proposed liberalization of prices for fuel announced by us within the framework of the memorandum [word indistinct] has naturally significantly raised inflationary expectations. That is the main fact. Now, prior to the liberalization of fuel prices, they will have an effect, significantly raising demand for hard currency. After the freeing of prices, after the first period in January when the inertia of inflationary expectations will continue to dominate, the normal tendency for the stabilization of the rate prevails. This will, without doubt, also be promoted by spreading the awareness that we have a serious chance of receiving large-scale financial assistance for a stabilization fund. This means that the playing against the ruble rate is known to be, in the long-term, a losing game.

[Shashkov] What will this money go towards?

[Gaydar] There are two main areas. First, to support the balance of payments: that is, to overcome the short-term cash crisis which today is, in actual fact, the most dangerous, the most dangerous thing we have in our economy. Because as a result of the fact that we have absolutely no possibility of manovering currency, we are unable to close up even those holes which absolutely must be closed from purely technological considerations.

That is the first thing. The second thing is the creation of the stabilization fund which will reliably resolve this problem which you have mentioned.

[Shashkov] Yegor Timurovich, I have to note that it is very pleasant talking to you because you infect one with optimism, although when one goes out on to the streets it gets somewhat lost.

[Gaydar] You know, there are problems, which by their very appearance, despite their seriousness, allow one to be optimistic. When enterprises begin en masse to complain that they have no money, this means that things are difficult but it means that the economy is gradually becoming (?revitalized). When agricultural producers start to complain that they are finding it very difficult to sell their produce, that no one is buying it, while in the meantime we are continuing to import food from abroad, including meat, this infects one with optimism because you know that this is happening approximately when it should have happened, and has happened everywhere. In general, three to four months after the liberalization of prices, this flow of complaints begins which become increasingly persistent.

Well, of course there are very serious problems which will grow acute—one must not harbor illusions. This is a structural restructuring of the economy, and in this connection there is the employment problem. Unfortunately, this is a harsh fact of economic life known as the Phillips curve—the choice between the level of inflation and unemployment. In a certain sense, the curve itself does not depend on the will and wish of the government, but the choice of the point on this curve does.

We are now faced with a choice—either a more rapid stabilization of the consumer market, filling it with goods, a relatively low rate of inflation, but with substantial unemployment—because to support employment in ineffective sectors is possible only by way of major financial infusions; or the enforced release of those employed from those sectors where they are ineffective, from ineffective sectors. Well, if we—a slower release of those employed, then it will be at the price of a much worse situation in the consumer market, and a much higher rate of inflation. [sentence as heard] We feel nevertheless that the choice has to be made in favor of a speedy stabilization of the consumer market and lowering of the rate of price rises, and that at present this is decisive. As time goes by, towards the end of the year, problems relating to employment will gain increasing significance for us.

My optimism is very cautious. I have never called on anyone to believe in the possibility of a pain-free transformation of this economy into an efficiently operating market. We have to go through a whole range of difficult and as yet unavoidable problems. The main thing is that we should resolve them.

[Shashkov] Last time we compared the government with a surgeon whose hand should not be nudged during an operation. Are people continuing to nudge you, or have the nudges become less perciptible?

[Gaydar] Perhaps a little less perceptible, although I do not want to overestimate this trend of course. We shall see what political events the coming week bring us.

[Shashkov] Thank you.

Pro-USSR Demonstrations Held in Cities

Many Support Upcoming Congress

LD1503221892 Moscow TASS in English 2142 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 15 ITAR-TASS—In connection with the so-called sixth (extraordinary) Congress of Deputies of the former USSR planned for March 17 there were rallies in many Russian cities in support of its convocation and of the idea of reviving the Soviet Union, against the socio-economic policy of the present Russian Government.

ITAR-TASS correspondents report that the biggest rallies with the number of participants of one thousand and more, were held in Khabarovsk (the Far East), Barnaul (the south of Siberia), Penza (the east of the European part of Russia), Irkutsk (western Siberia). Similar demonstrations were held in St. Petersburg, Ulyanovsk, Nizhny Novgorod and a number of other cities. Pro-communist and national-patriotic organisations called these rallies. There were accusations levelled at the Russian Government that its policy leads to the impoverishment of people, rampage of crime and thriving of corruption. There were also extremist demands that reforms be immediately abandoned, the present cabinet dismissed and a new USSR Supreme Soviet elected.

Meanwhile, registration of participants in a "union congress" began in conditions of strict secrecy in Moscow on Sunday [15 March]. The holding of a union congress was demanded by a number of deputies of the former Union parliament. The presidium of the Russian parliament found actions of organisers of the congress unconstitutional. The chief of the Interior Agency of Moscow was instructed to take all the necessary measures to prevent the holding of the congress in the Russian capital.

Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy made a call for responsibility to those who intend to turn out into streets of Moscow on March 17. He urged everyone to consider where the whipping up of passions can lead.

The public opinion survey held in Moscow by the sociological service "Mneniye" (Opinion) showed that the overwhelming majority of Muscovites, 64 per cent, are against the holding of a Congress of People's Deputies of the former USSR, while 43 per cent of the poll supported the idea of prohibiting all kinds of rallies and demonstrations till the end of the year. 38 per cent of participants in the poll do not agree with this.

Calls For Yeltsin Resignation Heard

OW1503234092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A 400 to 500-strong rally held in the city of Novosibirsk today demanded the resignation of Yeltsin and Rutskoy and voiced support of the 6th extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

According to the rally organizers who represent the Novosibirsk chapters of the Russian Communist Party and the Working People's Socialist Party and a number of patriotic organizations, a popular confidence government, formed at the 6th congress, must come to power in Russia. Around 400 signatures were collected in support of the congress.

IF [INTERFAX] learned from the Novosibirsk committee in support of the 6th congress of people's deputies, that 10 deputies from the Novosibirsk regions refused to participate in the congress.

Rallies Involved 35,000

OW1603114992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1023 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Russian Interior Ministry, 67 rallies involving 35,000 people, 4 demonstrations held by 300 people and two street processions that attracted 900 activists were held in the Russian Federation on Sunday [15 March].

Some 500 members of the WORKING MOSCOW movement, the United Workers' Front, the Russian Communist and Workers' parties, and the organization UNITY FOR LENINISM AND COMMUNLST IDEALS rallied outside the Lenin Museum in Moscow condemning the Russian Government for its economic policy that has "taken the country to pieces".

Similar actions were held elsewhere in Russia, and also in Tatarstan, Bakhkortostan, North Ossetia, Karelia, Udmurtia, Chuvashia and the Krasnodar region, each attracting 100 to 2,000 participants.

70 members of the Russian Party came to Moscow's Kommuna Square to call for the creation of a strong Russian state and "sweeping changes in the anti-Russian policy" pursued by the Russian and Moscow governments.

Nearly 200 pickets outside the Moldovan mission in Moscow held placards urging effective protection for the Russian-speakers on the left bank of the Dnestr.

Orthodox believers staged a demonstration near the Moscow Kremlin in protest against letting an American priest appear before Russian religious audiences.

Authorities' Handling of Rallies Examined

PM1603092492 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 92 pp 1,2

[Report by Viktor Shirokov: "What Are They Afraid Of?"]

[Text] Things are rather hot...That is probably the most accurate thing you can say about the situation in which our ardent democrats have ended up. The genocidal poverty that they have in store for the people thanks to the incoherent economic reform and fiendish means of implementing it are literally forcing people into street rallies and demonstrations.

In panic at the the people's increasingly stormy discontent the authorities are willing to cast prudence to the winds if only to put up some kind of barrier against this fatal onslaught. And they consider any means OK in this. For instance, Moscow Mayor G. Popov has branded the opposition without mincing his words: "new putschists," "reds and browns intoxicated by impunity," and the "fascist danger." At the same time the Russian parliament also reports incidentally: "There are people on the Russian leadership, particularly within the Supreme Soviet, who intend to 'wash their hands of it' and shift onto Moscow's City Hall all the 'filthy' duties (you cannot be more precise!—V. Shirokov) of defending Russian statehood..."

As you know, G. Popov gave permission for a rally to be held on Manezh Square 17 March, admittedly with a host of stipulations and quibbles. In particular, he wanted its organizers to disown the organizational committee behind the convocation of the sixth (extraordinary) congress of USSR people's deputies scheduled for the same day since he considers it anticonstitutional. R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, incidentally, used the same excuse when condemning the holding of a Union congress at the Supreme Soviet session.

However, one should have listened to the "legal men" here, who see nothing anticonstitutional about holding a congress. Here, for instance, is what Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Filimonov, member of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, said: "Deputies won this title as a result of elections held on the basis of the USSR Constitution and electoral law. The Russian Supreme Soviet was not entitled to abrogate the status of people's deputy, it is not vested with these powers." Consequently, no one has the right to prohibit this meeting of deputies, especially since its organizers have never publicly stated their intention of setting up a parallel authority, much less of opposing the Russian parliament.

The bread of "democracy" is evidently sweet since our reformers have begun to get so concerned in the face of the people's indignation. They are no longer in the mood for politeness and G. Popov is demanding: "The prosecutor must immediately institute criminal proceedings in respect of encroachments on the constitutional system

and Russia's security and internal affairs organs must take vigorous action." There are no doubts about what "action" to take. Evidently, action like the bloodbath that Moscow City Hall organized for Working Moscow and veterans 23 February.

All these statements, appeals, menacing growls from commanders, and alarmed reprimands illustrate the confusion and fear among the new "fathers of the nation."

'Public Forces' Leaders Criticize Government

OW1503165692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A one-day Public Forces Conference convened at the initiative of the People's Party-Free Russia (PP-FR) and the Russian Democratic Party (RDP) was held today in Moscow. The conference was addressed by Nikolay Travkin, the RDP chairman, and Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, the leader of the PP-FR.

Travkin called for supporting reforms implemented by the government but hurled at it "collective criticisms". "The government and parliament are not ashamed to approve estimates covering their own expenses", while the people are suffering from hardships, he said. A balanced budget may not be a goal in itself. It is increased productivity that should be the overriding goal. Travkin said that there was in effect no middle class in Russia, the class on which the majority of developed economics rely for development. "And the unified taxation policy will finally choke it", he added.

Vice President Rutskoy said at the conference that the government's concept of the transition to a market economy was correct, but its implementation was inconsistent. What is needed is the passage of a package of necessary laws protecting property rights, Rutskoy stressed. "Value foundations" of the price system should also be laid. Otherwise, "price liberalizations ie. a spontaneous price setting, will not produce hoped-for results".

Stemming the fall in production requires, in his view, defining the legal status of enterprises and market entities. At the same time, Rutskoy criticized the privatization campaign which "leads to embezzlement and contraction of output".

Dwelling on military problems, Rutskoy said "the army experiences a breakup and demoralization". By foregoing control over the army the government risks a civil war. Therefore, laws on defense and on the status of servicemen should be passed without any delay.

Deputy Prime Minster Yegor Gaydar who also attended the conference denied that the government was to blame for the slump in output and for the breakup of economic ties. Economic chaos and disarray in ethnic relations were present by the time the current government was sworn in. "But it is now that we have boldly and firmly passed to painful steps by reforming our economy, we have achieved the first successes", Gaydar said.

Rutskoy Notes 'Reasonable Dialogue'

LD1503175292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Video report by reporter A. Lutskoy on conference of Russian political groupings in Moscow on 15 March, including recorded remarks made during interview by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy]

[Text] [Announcer] It is becoming a tradition, it seems, for Sundays to be days of political activity. This has been the case for many weeks now. A conference of Russia's political groupings opened in Moscow today.

[Lutskoy] How are we going to survive? How are we to preserve and strengthen Russia's statehood? The participants in the conference of political groupings, which opened in Moscow today, are seeking answers to these and other topical questions. The conference is sponsored by the People's Party-Free Russia, and the Democratic Party of Russia. Speakers expressed alarm at attempts by ambitious nationalists to split the Russian Federation. Consolidation of efforts being made by the government and socio-political organizations was described as one of the most important objectives of the present moment. The need to overcome street politics and achieve civic accord was stressed.

[Rutskoy] Today's situation in our society has again and again made it clear that there must be consolidation. As you remember, Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin suggested that there should be a roundtable to be attended by representatives of various socio-political movements. Such meetings could lead to specific and consistent results. We are having a civilized dialogue. I expect speakers to criticize the government and so on. We will draw certain conclusions. But this does not mean that people have to take to the streets and call for violence. We intend to issue a socio-political declaration on behalf of those present here at the conference. Movement toward a reasonable dialogue, toward reasonable criticism, has started. [video shows Rutskoy, Ye. Gaydar and others on a platform in a crowded hall; Rutskoy talking to reporter]

Cooperation Protocol Signed

LD1503185892 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 15 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow March 15—A conference of public forces held on Sunday [15 March] in Moscow by the Democratic Party of Russia and the People's Party of Free Russia has laid down a foundation for close cooperation

and, possibly, a unification in the future of two major democratic parties of Russia on a basis of a common approach to the problem of Russia's national and state structure.

At the conference, representatives of both parties in their speeches and in endorsed documents declared for a strong democratic state, capable of guaranteeing fundamental civic rights and also equality of people of different nationalities.

The participants in the conference declared that the task of the two parties is to unite and strengthen the centrist forces that will be "reviving Russian statehood".

The adopted statement "on Russia's national state structure" notes that Russia "should be a united federal state respecting and ensuring ethnic and regional interests". The statement emphasises the need for "the policy of cultural-national automony".

The conference declared for "the widening of rights of territories and regions to the level of republics, the granting to them of equal legal status of administrative-territorial units".

At the news conference, leader of the People's Party of Free Russia, Vice President of Russia Aleksandr Rutskoy and leader of the Democratic Party of Russia Nikolay Travkin confirmed that they will be upholding this stand at a Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation when the draft constitution is discussed. "Human rights should be held above the notion of a nation", Travkin said.

The leaders of the two parties said that a protocol on cooperation was signed and that there is a plan to hold a forum "Citizens of Russia" late in April. Travkin even said that it may be possible to form a united party in a year or two. The participants in the conference adopted an address to the coming Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, urging deputies to show political wisdom and responsibility and endorse a new constitution at that Congress.

In a separate document the conference expressed concern over the situation developing in Tatarstan in connection with a planned referendum on the status of the republic.

"The holding of the referendum, no matter what its results, will polarise society in Tatarstan and create a threat of ethnic conflicts in the Russian Federation as a whole", the document says.

The conference also adopted a statement in connection with manifestations planned for March 17. It condemned "radicals of neobolshevist and chauvinistic orientation", urging those who intended to participate in a rally to reconsider their decision. At the same time they warned that "if blood is spilt, the responsibility will be shared by those who instigated actions and by the authorities failing to find other arguments than brutal force".

[Moscow RIA in English at 1717 GMT 15 March in a report on the conference adds: "Vice President Rutskoy's People's Party of Free Russia and the Russian Democratic Party, led by Nikolay Travkin, formed a bloc complete with Coordination Council and newspaper, Mr. Rutskoy announced after the Moscow public conference today. The Unity Protocol is already signed."]

Worker's Parties, Communists Discuss Leadership

LD1603093892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1722 GMT 15 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Volgograd —Participants in the meeting held in the city of Volgograd on March 15 to bring the Russian Federation leadership, which commit genocide against its own people, to trial [sentence as received].

The resolution, adopted by the meeting in support of the sixth extraordinary congress of the USSR People's Deputies, National Veche (Assembly) and preservation of the USSR Armed Forces, calls on the President Yeltsin to stop anti-constitutional and arbitrary treatment of the USSR and RSFSR constitutions, to realize the will of Russia's peoples, expressed at the referendum on March 17, 1991...to create normal conditions for holding the sixth congress of the USSR People's Deputies and stop putting obstacles for convening the National Veche...to immediately stop insolent foreign political and economic interference in our country's affairs...to stop instigating of civil war through anti-patriotic and anti-communist hysteria in the media...and to carry out new elections to the republic, regional and district soviets in 1992.

Sergey Koshelev, chairman of the Workers' Council of Volgograd addressed the meeting. The participants sang the USSR hymn and carried red banners and slogans which read people's deputy of the USSR, save the country, for the people's will and united and powerful Soviet Union and stop demo fascism.

Oleg Sotsiakyan, secretary of the Volgograd regional organization of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and a participant at the meeting told a PF [POSTFACTUM] correspondent that his party has already begun preparations to the general political strike and was establishing its organizations in different work collectives. According to Sotsiakyan, the strike will help working people draw right conclusions concerning the Russian Federation Government and the Supreme Soviet.

The meeting, organized jointly by the Council of Workers of Volgograd, regional organizations of the Russian Communist Workers' Party and the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, made a decision to send its representatives to Moscow to participate in the National Veche on March 17, as well as a deputy of the Council of Workers of

Volgograd to participate in the sixth extraordinary congress the USSR People's Deputies.

'United Opposition' Activities Criticized

PM1603094292 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Commentary by Galina Mashtakova: "They Are Fighting for Yesterday"]

[Text] In our spiritually rich but materially poor country ideas are generated faster than food prices. Each new day brings a new party with its own "special way." Each new hour brings a statement or protest. The traditional Russian recreation—revolution—goes on. And the current economic policy which has been forced on the Russian Government has been simply a gift from the gods for right wing and left wing political players alike.

Twenty-five parties and movements—from the organizing committee to prepare for the illegal sixth congress of USSR people's deputies to the commission to investigate M. Gorbachev's activity—signed a declaration 1 March on the creation of a united opposition.

It is not hard to work out who will make up the next soviet of the next opposition. Most likely those who held a news conference 11 March at the Russian Writers' Center.

It was chaired by Sergey Baburin in his new capacity as chairman of the Russian National Union. He was actively assisted in this by Viktor Anpilov, secretary of the Russian Communist Workers Party Central Committee and founder editor of the MOLNIYA working movement's newspaper. In this instance it is relevant to mention the newspaper, since its articles under headlines such as "Workers, to Arms!" in no way square with Viktor Ivanovich's repeated assurances of his exclusive love of peace or of the good intentions of the rallies—both past and future—held in Moscow's squares with Zhirinovskiy and Baburin.

At the opening of the news conference its organizers were clearly playing up to each other in admitting how hard it had been for them—the "former leaders of party organs" and "former opponents of the CPSU"—to meet each other halfway.

I do not know why our homegrown communists and socialists found the road to our national patriots so rocky. To my mind, everything was done in the best traditions of national socialism.

The speakers' tone was valedictory—you got the impression that they would be leaving directly for the barricades and that we should always remember them thus. Aleksey Prigarin told us that 12,000 Moscow militiamen, 6,500 men of the Dzerzhinskiy Division, 1,500 OMON [special purpose militia detachment] men from the three oblasts neighboring the capital, agents from the "Aleks" private detective agency, and fire fighting units with water cannon and cheremukha [tear gas] are ready to break up the rally planned for 17 March.

The words "we expect slanderous allegations" and "arrests of leaders are possible" had a tragicomic ring. Aleksandr Prokhanov breezily pinned responsibility for the 23 February bloodshed (I would remind you that it was mainly the blood of young militiamen) and the 17 March (?!) bloodshed on Russian television and the Russian press.

Goodness, haven't we had enough of demagoguery? Isn't it time that the organizers of these "red" rallies took off their lace bonnets and eyeglasses and stopped pulling the wool over Red Riding Hood's eyes? A political battle is under way. A battle which the people do not need and which essentially does not alter the processes taking place in the country and in society.

It sometimes seems to me that the huge army of "spiritually rich idlers" are simply bored with working. And ambitions are not allowed. Political games stroke their self-esteem and, let's make no bones about it, provide certain funds for their existence. All the more so as it is not at all difficult to upset the nervous builders of communism and excitable youngsters at this tough time for the country.

After all, it is admittedly absurd to suppose that anything will change in the wake of the 17 March rally in support of the congress of deputies of the Supreme Soviet of a now-defunct country.

Incidentally, talking about the unity and integrity of the fatherland, Sergey Baburin made it clear that his organization is thinking of the country which initially started collapsing in February 1917. And when journalists pointed out that Poland and Finland were part of us at the time, the Russian National Union leader optimistically noted that history would show whether Finland would come back to us or not....

The news conference scenario also included a speech by Major General (Retired) Nagibin. He spoke and said simply: "Nobody invited me here...I came on my wife's instructions. I am the only real witness. Here is my testimony—16 pages of it—on the bloody battle and carnage...."

And things rather smacked of Ilf and Petrov [Russian satirists] when talk turned to Gavriil Popov's statement "Rebuffing the New Putshchists," published in MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. Viktor Anpilov was brief: "He's a putschist himself!" he accused the mayor.

...It would seem to be an event not meriting any particular attention: Who does not hold news conferences in this day and age? But it was like a mirror reflecting all the senselessness and absurdity of fighting for yesterday. And fighting a criminal fight into the bargain.

One is also saddened by the fact that behind the argument between the opponents of the former "order" and those whom they call the democrats in power, the very

notion of democracy has been lost. After all, this is not a fight to the death between so-called patriots and so-called democrats, it is a question of their peaceful coexistence, whereby democracy is protected with their help from right wing and left wing extremism and from an absurd war between empty vessels and empty heads.

Urgent Measures Against Federation Breakup Eyed

LD1403132692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1129 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow—The analytical staff of the Russian Government have worked out urgent measures against the disintegration of Russia.

The analytical staff of the Russian Government have drawn a note addressed to President Boris Yeltsin entitled: On Disintegration and Urgent Measures to Fight Separatism, competent sources reported. At the moment this note is being studied by the government leaders.

It says that in the past two months, in the conditions of plummeting standards of living and growing social tensions, dramatically increased pressure has been exerted on the central government by the administrations of the republics within the Russian Federation, of the territories and a number of regions with the view of obtaining rights on running economic, including external, activities disposing of state property distributing material and monetary resources. A bureaucratic procedure of certain regions trying to obtain various privileges has emerged in the government of the Russian Federation that lies in the functionaries of the regional administrations agreeing the relevant presidential decrees with the federal departments and subsequently having them signed, the writers of the note argue.

This procedure starts with the leaders of the interested region meeting with the president, the meeting usually resulting in the president instructing the government to consider the regional administration drawn-up draft decree. This is followed by the remarks made by certain departments being discussed at the Russian Federation economy and finance ministry level and then, minor amendments introduced, the draft is sent for signing. The note also says that by this day the presidential decrees on the republic of Karelia, the Komi SSR, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) government resolutions on the Gorno-Altay SSR and the Irkutsk region have been signed, containing provisions on granting rights to certain regional administrations on utilizing the most part of hard currency returns by the enterprises on the territory of the respective region, the returns subject to being transferred to Russia's republican hard currency reserve on disposing of part of the products put out in the region as well as on making the products exported from the region exempt from export duties in favor of the regional quota, raising the quota itself and other benefits and privileges. Their overall amount as regards exemptions from export duties alone is estimated at R [ruble] 100 billion at the very least, by which sum the revenues into the federal budget become respectively lower. Similar decrees by the Russian president are now being drawn on the Bashkir SSR—Bashkortostan, the Buriat SSR, the Udmurt Republic, the Koriak ASSR as well as resolutions by the government on the Amur, Kaliningrad, Murmansk, Sverdlovsk and Chita regions and the Krasnoyarsk territory. A similar intergovernmental agreement has been signed with Tatarstan agreements with some other republics within the Russian Federation are being drawn. Government instructions are being considered concerning requests by the leaders of the Udmurt republic, the Buriat SSR, the Archangelsk, Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions on being exempt from export duties and having the right to sell part of hard currency returns to Russia's republican hard currency reserve.

The flood of this kind of requests to the Russian Government is growing every week, the analysts state. Not only does this block their work, but is turning the government staff into a mechanism of granting privileges to certain regions, which entails the economic disintegration of the country.

A real threat of the Russian Federation's economic space disintegrating into autonomous regions with their unique regimes of economic activity has emerged, the note warns. The disintegration of the economic conditions will inevitably and very quickly be followed by the disintegration of state regulatory mechanism, which, in turn, will bring about the political disintegration of the Russian state. The process of the avalanche-type disintegration of a federative state in the conditions of an economic crisis has many a time taken place in the history of mankind, suffice it to recall Austria-Hungary or the fresh examples of Yugoslavia and the USSR. This process is undoubtedly getting under way in Russia, the analysts believe, and it is on the current policies of the federal government in the next few weeks that the country's integrity depends. After the economic crisis has been overcome, the separatist movements will extinguish by themselves but now they find themselves in a very favorable medium. Continuing the ostrich policy of ignoring this process objectively reinforces the separatist movements and dooms the country to a rapid collapse catastrophic in its consequences.

At the moment the separatist movements practically in all the regions have a bureaucratic-nomenclature nature and are devoid of a substantial social basis, the note indicates. The local administrations seek to establish control over resources using the benefits and privileges granted by the federal government to improve their economic situation and consolidate their authority. With a mechanism of control over utilization of the rights and privileges obtained non-existent, instances of the local bureaucrats actually usurping these rights and privileges are fairly numerous, in the form of both creating luxurious conditions for themselves and exporting capital from the country via their own firms, deliberate worsening of the foreign trade contracts and the like. A few instances of this kind have been elicited by the control directorate with the Russian Federation president's

administration in the course of checking up the way the resolutions by the Russian president and government are being put into effect (submitted to the February 27, 1992 session of the government). Blackmailing the government by a threat of strikes and a social explosion the local administrations used the benefits and resources allegedly wrangled out for the needs of the population for the purpose of personal consumption.

The analytical staff of Russia's Government believe that the behavior of many local administrations is indicative of the fact that the re-distribution of power in their favor leads the country to the disintegration into autonomous, administratively-run regional economies based on barter between themselves and foreign countries. It is obvious that this tendency will result in a further slump in the living standards accompanied by a growing export of the national wealth in the overwhelming majority of the country's regions. The next two or three months will be critical—to overcome the disintegration tendencies within this period of time it is vital to realize a program of measures to fight separatism that should contain the following components.

The analytical staff of the Russian Government have proposed the following urgent measures to fight separatism:

1. Stopping summit meetings between the government and the heads of the regional administrations to discuss drafts of the president's decrees on special conditions of running the regional economies. This kind of meeting should be confined to discussing the prospects of regional development and not be concerned with the division of the rights and unreasonable giving out of privileges and benefits at the expense of the federal budget.

2. Holding a joint meeting of the government and the presidium of Russia's Supreme Council to discuss the disintegration of Russia where this issue should be qualified as the main one at the moment. It is desirable that this meeting should adopt a special resolution on unifying the regime of economic activities both regarding the various forms of this country's and foreign property and the territories. Granting privileges and benefits should be made conditional on recognizing this kind of territories as separate entities having their respective attributes, such as customs, visa regime, etc.

3. Ruling as unconstitutional and counter to the Russian federal legislation acts by a number of the republics within the Russian Federation and also respective resolutions by the government. Suspending certain provisions in a number of the existing legislative acts that underlie the economic disintegration of the country.

Constitutional Court Chairman on Tatarstan

LD1503143292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2025 GMT 13 Mar 92

["The Constitutional Court Has Resolved" program: interview with Constitutional Court chairman Valeriy Zorkin by commentator Yelena Ozrina on 13 March; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ozrina] The court today delivered its judgment on a very complex matter. How did the court reach its judgment? Would you comment, please, and explain your position?

[Zorkin] It was no easy matter for the court to reach this decision, because there is nothing to be pleased about in the fact that such a matter should be possible in the Russian Federation. Obviously, measures were not taken in good time by the highest state authorities on the one hand, or by the republics on the other hand, to try to resolve the situation on the basis of civilized juridical methods. So one of the results of that was the decision, a unilateral decision—by one republic, I mean the Republic of Tatarstan—in effect to secede from the RSFSR [as heard]. Because however one might comment on the decision by the leaders of the Republic of Tatarstan, the essence—and this was something difficult for the ordinary person to make sense of at a referendum in which the wording effectively wrapped up several questions together—the essence actually came down to Tatarstan putting itself on equal terms with the RSFSR and with other states, in other words, outside the RSFSR.

This was a unilateral decision, and it has to be considered that it cannot but lead to the collapse of the constitutional order. It is not only a violation of human rights, it is a threat to the constitutional order. That was the premise from which the court proceeded.

But there is another point I want to emphasize. The court did not adopt a great power position, as some would like to believe. The decision, as you have seen, offers a considered appraisal. We recognize certain acts weighted specifically toward the sovereignty of Tatarstan. That is, we have taken a selective approach, deeming certain things to be unconstitutional and certain things to be constitutional, and that includes taking a conciliatory attitude to the declaration of state sovereignty.

As for the statement that Tatarstan proclaims the supremacy of the constitution and laws of the Republic of Tatarstan and that the laws of the RSFSR operate only to the extent that they do not contradict the laws of the Republic of Tatarstan and the declaration, you will agree that this is indeed a manifestation of one-sidedness. I do not believe that it can lead to anything good. It will not stop with Tatarstan now. These processes would go on an on and we would end up with a situation a hundred times worse than Yugoslavia.

So, the fact that representatives of the Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan did not attend the Constitutional Court is something I very deeply regret. For me it is not only a sign of disrespect toward the Constitutional Court, it is in principle a sign of disrespect for all federal structures of authority. But it is also a sign that it is possible to disrespect authority altogether in this state. Tomorrow it could be in Bugulma or somewhere of that sort where exactly the same tendency arises and then there would be

exactly the same attitude to Tatarstan's own Supreme Soviet. This could go on ad infinitum, so it has to be stopped, and it can be stopped only in a civilized way.

So the argument used by the esteemed president of Tatarstan to the effect that we imposed a tight framework on the republic and did not allow it to prepare for the referendum does not, I think, stand up to criticism. The situation was unravelling swiftly. They only gave people a month for the referendum. Now they think that we aren't giving them time. It wasn't on the 6th, as the president emphasized, but on the 3d—ten days before the session—that we presented a copy of our application to Mukhamedshin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet. He was here in Moscow. I think that enough time was given.

What is more, you have to consider that the argument rebounds against Tatarstan's leaders themselves. If they didn't have time to make preparations regarding this complicated matter, as they call it, and yet they have already decided it in their constitution, in their declaration and in the referendum, the question that I ask myself is: So they weren't ready to raise this matter sensibly either?

I don't want to go in for criticisms and accusations now. I think our decision should not be geared to criticism, but to a constructive spirit. I think that if the decisions of the Constitutional Court are respected by Tatarstan, there will be the most complete respect for the Tatar Republic by the Constitutional Court.

If the federation violates its laws, no one should be in any doubt that, whether Tatarstan or any other republic is involved, the Constitutional Court will guard federative principles. The federation has taken a step toward a civilized settlement. What is involved is the renovation of the federation. If I am not mistaken, the republic's draft federation treaty is now almost ready for signing. It is designed to bring about a reorganization on new principles. I think that this civilized path will enable us to avoid civil war and all sorts of bloody events. It is only by consolidating the constitutional order that we can find a proper way out, I think.

The last thing I want to comment on is the talk to the effect that an imperial truncheon is being wielded from the center here. I agree that there were of course violations, and the center did take untimely steps. By the way, we will record this in our submission. I have already stated the main points of our submission today. But the republics must also take a step to meet us half-way. After all, the previous imperial stance no longer exists. On the contary, there is now a process of disintegration that, I think, can engulf Tatarstan itself. I think it's high time to stop. We stand on the edge of an abyss.

[Ozrina] Do you expect that the referendum will go ahead despite the decision of the court? Will the decision of the Constitutional Court be conveyed to Tatarstan in the form in which it should be conveyed? What is your forecast of the way events will develop?

[Zorkin] As far as conveying the decision is concerned, we will today send our decision to the leadership of the Republic of Tatarstan. As you know, a decision comes into force immediately after the promulgation of the decision, so it has already come into force. That is why I can now comment freely on it. Before the adoption of the decision, I would not have had the right to comment on the case in this way. I think that the best way out of the situation is for the leaders of Tatarstan and the people of Tatarstan to ponder the fact that if they fail to comply with the decision of the Constitutional Court, it would not just signify the nonfulfilment of the Constitutonal Court decision. It would simply mean straying from the path of reason and heading toward an abyss. Their reply that the republic is ending up outside the Russian Federation signifies a road with endless ramifications. We have already seen such attempts. Look at what is happening around us and what these attempts have led to. Are we going to have to see exactly the same events in Tatarstan as have occurred in other republics? I think it wouldn't just mean death for the Russian Federation. It would constitute a colossal threat to the actual people of Tatarstan.

Further on Court Ruling

LD1403102192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyampolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar (TASS)—The Russian Federation Constitutional Court has deemed the decision by the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet on holding a statehood referendum in the republic as at variance with the RSFSR Constitution. This decision was announced today by Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin.

The decision by the Tatarstan parliament does not correspond to the Constitution as regards the wording of the question, which stipulates that the Republic of Tatarstan is a viable entity under international law and builds its relations with the Russian Federation and other states on the basis of equal treaties. Such a wording could imply a unilateral change in the nation-state structure of the RSFSR and signify that the Republic of Tatarstan is not part of the Russian Federation", the court's decision says.

At the same time, the law on referendum in the Republic of Tatarstan, along with articles of the Republican Constitution, are deemed constitutional from the viewpoint of the delimitation of areas of authority between the Russian Federation and the republics within it.

The court also examined the constitutional nature of a number of other laws of Tatarstan. It deemed incompatible with the Constitution of Russia those clauses in the declaration of state sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan which limit the operation of Russian Federation laws on the territory of Tatarstan. The supreme body of legal power in Russia postponed examination of the constitutional nature of other articles of the declaration

until the state and legal status of Tatarstan has been defined within the process of concluding a federal treaty and adoption of new constitutions of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan.

The court deemed incompatible with the Russian Constitution those clauses of the law on alterations and amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan which exclude constitutional and legal bases for regulating relations between Tatarstan and the Federation as a whole, since this implies unilateral alteration of the nation- state structure of Russia and signifies that the Republic of Tatarstan is not part of the Russian Federation.

Most of the laws of Tatarstan whose constitutional nature was examined by the Court were adopted in the republic last year and went "unnoticed", so to speak, by the Russian Supreme Soviet until the decision on the referendum was adopted by the Tatarstan Parliament. In this connection, the Constitutional Court intends to send representations to Russia's supreme bodies of state power, saying that the Supreme Soviet and president of Russia did not carry out the constitutioal obligations bestowed upon them to monitor observance of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and to ensure that the constitutions of the republics within the Federation are compatible with that of Russia. In the opinion of the court, Russia's bodies of power did not take appropriate measures in good time to regulate relations between the Federation and the republics which make it up, or to resolve matters of the state and legal status of the Federation according to the new principles.

The Constitutional Court also drew the attention of the supreme bodies of power of the republics within Russia to the need for constructive measures on their part to resolve the matter of their state and legal status within the Federation.

Rutskoy Appeals To Tatars Not To Break Away

PM1303162592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[Undated appeal signed by Russian Federation Vice President A.V. Rutskoy: "Let Us Understand in Our Heart That Russia Is Our Common Home"]

[Text] Compatriots! I am following the recent events in sovereign Tatarstan with alarm and hope. As a Russian [Russkiy] man, as a citizen of Russia, as a soldier and a statesman, I cannot stand aloof from the events in Tatarstan, on whose outcome your fate and mine depend. I am talking about the most important thing—the existence of our peoples, the existence of a unique, thousand-year-old state which unites Europe and Asia within itself.

True, relations among our peoples have certainly not been unclouded. We have known all kinds of things—blood, tears, insults, reconciliations, burned Russian cities, the conquest of the Kazan Khanate. But is there any point in presenting one another with checks for settlement in the name of our great forefathers? Making historical claims is the road to nowhere, the road to disintegration, death, and ultimately degradation.

How can the question arise today of giving Tatarstan state independence, of cutting the living historical ties between our peoples, when it is precisely the Tatar people who took a more active part than any other in Russia's development as a state in which, by the way, passports never contained the column "nationality" but denoted only citizenship [poddanstvo]—citizenship of Russia? This was the sign and the symbol of national equality of rights. How could it be otherwise, when Tatar blood flowed in the veins of the vast majority of Russian [rossiyskiy] noble families? Mixed with Russian [russkiy] blood, it set the world lofty examples of service to a great state. Russian [russkiy] aristocrats—whether the Rostopchins, the Shakhovskoys, or the Yusupovs—not only were not ashamed of their Tatar origins but took pride in them. The contribution of these people to the history of our power can hardly be overestimated. As for the Russian [rossiyskiy] aristocracy of the spirit—Tyutchev, Turgenev, Goncharov, Berdyayev—can you not smell the wormwood scent of the steppe in the great names? It was not for nothing that Ivan Turgenev once remarked: "Scratch a Russian [russkiy], and you will find a Tatar." This phrase has lofty and proud meaning for a Russian [russkiy] and a Tatar. We really are inseparable and united for eternity.

People of lofty spirit and culture have always been distinguished by great selflessness. Were Russian [russkiy] academics motivated by grasping, narrow national interests when the university—one of the largest in Russia—opened in Kazan in 1804, or when the Asian Printing House, whose significance in preserving Tatar culture can hardly be overestimated, was set up in 1801?

No, and again no. We built our common home in the clear understanding that we had a common destiny.

How much of our fraternal blood was shed in the struggle against common enemies and aggressors. Remember Napoleon's invasion and the fronts of World War I and the Great Patriotic War, when there was no difference between the fate of a Tatar and a Russian [russkiy]. Is it really possible today to betray the sacrificial blood of Musa Dzhalil and Aleksandr Matrosov, shed in the name of our common motherland?!

We lived together through the catastrophe of 1917 and the long—more than 70 years—hard times of social and national humiliation. It was not the Russian [russkiy] who humiliated the Tatar but the nonnational and nonspiritual power which despised and feared equally both the world of Orthodoxy and the world of Islam. Executions of priests and the destruction of churches and mosques were also our bitter and indivisible fate. The fact that this power spoke Russian is another tragedy for the Russian [russkiy], from whom they stole, raped, and emasculated the great Russian language, in which the

Slav, Turkic, Mongol, and other cultural worlds that made up our motherland had peacefully coexisted.

If we do not understand in our heart that Russia is no chance accumulation of territories and tribes but a living, historical organism not subject to arbitrary dismemberment, then we are not worthy of our great common past. The dismemberment of Russia is like a death. Not only for us, who have seen everything in our time, but for mankind. It means a death for the world.

The national juxtaposition of "ours" and "theirs" is fraught with unpredictable consequences. Shortsighted politicians who satisfy their ambitions by courting cheap popularity in playing the "nationalities question" card will inevitably become the victims of this bloody game. But are we really going to wait with arms folded until the noose of nationalism is tightened around the throat of our common and only homeland? Come to your senses, brothers!

[Signed] Russian Federation Vice President A.V. Rutskoy

Media & Journalism

PRAVDA 'Temporarily' Suspends Publication

LD1303133192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar (TASS)—The PRAVDA collective has decided to temporarily suspend the paper's publication. Viktor Linnik, senior duty editor for the Saturday edition, informed the ITAR-TASS correspondent today that the editorial board was forced to resort to such an extreme measure because of the paper's difficult financial state. He said that the collective is not saying goodbye to its readers. Publication of the paper will be resumed as soon as funds are found.

PRAVDA: 'We Will Return'

PM1303183192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 1

[Message from PRAVDA journalists to readers: "They Have Permitted the Rally, but PRAVDA Has Been Suspended"]

[Text] Dear friends and readers!

PRAVDA's journalists have been forced to suspend publication of the newspaper.

Those zealous rulers, former and new alike, have "got" us after all. The market price noose is fixed round the neck of independent PRAVDA. We had just tasted the flavor of freedom, sighed with relief, and rid ourselves of the dull-witted shop leaders who were full of self-love with their peremptory orders and admonitions. But then different people slipped the noose on...

Under the tsar, the newspaper was shut nine times; under the Provisional Government, four times; and finally, it was shut in August 1991. The time has come round to bring us to our knees once again. Some politicians are thinking that it is possible to expunge 80 years of PRAVDA from history. It is the destiny of biased authorities to take vengeance for the fact that we did not become turncoats, that we do not change our convictions at the bazaar where political passions are hawked. We are undesirables and we never hoped for manna from heaven in the form of subsidies. But let them not wait for us to show the white flag of surrender. Our flag is the color of life.

For some time PRAVDA is not going to get to you, dear readers. But we will emerge into the light without fail. We will return. You certainly will be hearing from us again. It will be a voice in defense of human rights, the honor and dignity of man, and of the country's rebirth.

Gaydar Reportedly 'Embarrassed'

PM1603092192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 1

[S. Oganyan report under the general heading "Read All About Us": "Gaydar Embarrassed..."]

[Text] When I told Ye. Gaydar the news that PRAVDA would not publish, I got the impression that the former PRAVDA staffer got somewhat embarrassed. After all, the current troubles that are besetting all newspapers, and not just PRAVDA, are directly due to his market economy policy....

"My God!", Ye. Gaydar exclaimed. Afterwards, when I switched the tape recorder on, he added: "Of course, it will take time to adapt to real newsprint prices and get used to new delivery conditions. Newspaper publishing is expensive all over the world, and costs are recouped primarily either through advertising or through the support of sponsors and publishers. As a rule, there is no big money to be earned. The blow that has been dealt to newspaper publishing is really serious, the situation is grim. We are striving to solve the newspaper delivery problem to the best of our ability, and have now agreed with the Ministry of Communications to shift the burden of these costs onto other communication services so as to avoid asking subscribers for additional payments to cover delivery costs...But we cannot work miracles."

Papers Seek Financial Alternatives

LD1503020992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Only residents of Moscow received their copies of PRAVDA today. It will not come out at all next week. Publication of the paper has been suspended due to

financial difficulties. Its representatives say that 2 million rubles have to be found from somewhere if it is to resume publishing.

Other papers face similar problems and are seeking money from wherever possible. The newspaper SOVERSHENNO SEKRETNO, for example, has invested money in a stud farm. Its representatives say that every month the paper sustains heavy losses they sell another horse.

Others May Cease Publication

MK1403082792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 p 1

[T.M. report: "PRAVDA Disappears?"]

[Text] Yesterday PRAVDA published a small—Moscow—print run (111,000 copies). Publication of PRAVDA has been suspended for around seven days, or at any rate until such time as PRAVDA has paid off its debts to the publishing house. Deputy Chief Editor Aleksandr Ilin told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent: "We are confident that the newspaper will appear and that all the problems will be solved. We will find cofounders and ways of earning money. We are not disappearing, we are not saying farewell, we are saying 'Until we meet again.'" Ilin reported that publication of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA will probably be suspended next week for the same reason.

Supreme Soviet

Yeltsin To Head Defense Ministry Temporarily

LD1603112692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] Our special correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy reports from the session of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation:

[Ruvinskiy] I have come on the air from the White House, from the House of Soviets on Krasnopresnenskaya Quay, and will report an important piece of news which I have heard from reliable sources: Today, a decree by the Russian Federation president has been signed on the formation of a Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation.

The decree says that the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation form part of the CIS Armed Forces and are operationally subordinate to the CIS command. Although, formally, the Russian Federation has not up to now established its own armed forces, Russia has taken control of certain army units, above all those units which are currently stationed in the Baltic republics. The decree says that the functions of minister of defense will be exercised temporarily by the president. I hope that in our next Mayak bulletins we will be able to comment on this report in more detail.

'Text' of Russian Federal Treaty Issued

LD1403173392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1456 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow, 14 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Herewith the text of the Federation Treaty [Federativnyy Dogovor] which was released by the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium today. It was initialed on Saturday [14 March] by all the republics of the Russian Federation with the exception of Tatarstan and Checheno-Ingushetiya: Federation Treaty

(Treaty on the delimitation of the objects of jurisdiction and powers [razgranicheniye predmetov vedeniya i polnomochiy] between the federal bodies of state authority of the Russian Federation and the bodies of authority of the republics within the Russian Federation.)

We, the plenipotentiary representatives of the federal bodies of state authority of the Russian Federation and the bodies of authority of the republics within the Russian Federation, respectful of the history, traditions, culture, language, and ethnic worth of the peoples of the Russian Federation;

recognizing our responsibility for the preservation of the historically established state unity of the peoples of the Russian Federation and integrity of the republics and territory of which it is composed;

setting ourselves the goal of attaining and strengthening inter- ethnic agreement, trust, and mutual understanding;

pursuing the priority of human and civic rights and freedoms, irrespective of people's ethnic background or territory of domicile, as well as the right of peoples to self-determination as part of the Federative Russian state;

striving for a qualitative renewal of Federative relations on the basis of a voluntary distribution of powers and their effective implementation, proceeding on the basis that within the limits of their powers the bodies of state authority of the republics within the Russian Federation independently exercise this authority on their respective territories;

guided by the declaration of state sovereignty of the Russian Federation, the declarations of state sovereignty of the republics within the Russian Federation, and the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, and of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on matters dealing with the Federative structure and Federative relations within the Russian Federation;

have agreed on the following:

Article 1

1. The following are within the jurisdiction of the federal bodies of state authority of the Russian Federation:

a) Adoption and amendment of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and of federal laws, and monitoring of compliance with them;

b) the Federative system and the territory of the Russian Federation;

c) protection of human and civic rights, freedoms, and citizenship of the Russian Federation; protection of the rights of national minorities;

d) establishment of a system of federal bodies of legislative, executive, and judicial authority, and of procedures for their organization and activities; forming federal state bodies;

e) federal state property and its management;

f) establishment of bases for federal policy, as well as federal programs for state, economic, social, cultural, and national development in the Russian Federation;

g) establishment of juridical bases for a single market; financial, currency, credit, and customs regulation, money issue, and the bases of prices policy; federal economic services, including federal banks;

h) the federal budget; federal taxes and dues; federal funds for regional development;

i) federal energy systems, nuclear power, and fissile materials; federal transport, railways, information, and communications; space activities;

j) the Russian Federation's foreign policy and international relations, and the Russian Federation's international treaties; questions of war and peace;

k) the Russian Federation's foreign economic relations;

l) defense and security; defense production; determination of procedures for sale and purchase of weaponry, ammunition, military equipment, and other military property; production of fissile materials, poisonous substances, and narcotics, and procedures for the use of these;

m) the status and protection of the state border, territorial waters, economic zone, and continental shelf of the Russian Federation;

n) the judicial system; the procuracy; criminal, criminal procedure, and criminal sentencing legislation; amnesties and pardons; civil, civil procedure, and arbitration procedure legislation; juridical regulation of intellectual property;

o) federal conflict law;

p) the meteorological service, standards, standard measures, the metric system, and calculation of time; official statistical and accounting records;

q) state awards and honorary titles of the Russian Federation;

r) the federal state service.

2. The bodies of authority of republics within the Russian Federation participate in the implementation of federal powers within the limits and in the forms established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws.

3. Republics within the Russian Federation are guaranteed representation in the federal bodies of state authority of the Russian Federation.

Article II

1. The following are within the joint jurisdiction of the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the republics within the Russian Federation:

a) ensuring conformity of the constitutions and laws of the republics within the Rusian Federation to the Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation;

b) the protection of human and civic rights and freedoms, ensuring legality, law and order, and public security;

c) the utilization of natural resources, the protection of the environment, and ensuring ecological safety; specially protected natural areas; the protection of historical and cultural monuments;

d) general issues of education, training, science, culture, physical education, and sport;

e) coordination of the healthcare sphere, the protection of the family, mothers, fathers, and children; social protection, including social security;

f) conducting measures to deal with catastrophes, natural disasters, and epidemics, and to eliminate the consequences;

g) the establishment of general principles of taxation in the republics;

h) administrative, administrative-legal, labor, family, land, housing, water, and forest legislation; legislation on mineral resources and protecting the environment;

i) the legal profession and notaries;

j) the protection of original areas of inhabitation and the traditional way of life of small ethnic communities;

k) the establishment of general principles of organization of local self-administration.

2. The federal bodies of state authority of the Russian Federation are issuing legislative foundations on the issues indicated in the first part of the present article, in accordance with which the bodies of authority of the republics within the Russian Federation implement their own legal regulations, including the adoption of laws and other legal acts.

3. Draft laws on subjects of joint jurisdiction, indicated in point 1 of this article, are sent to the republics in the Russian Federation.

Article III

1. The republics possess complete state power on their territory, beside those powers which are transferred to the jurisdiction of the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation in accordance with this treaty.

2. The republics in the Russian Federation are independent participants in international and foreign economic relations, agreements with other republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations of the Russian Federation, if this does not contradict the Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation and this treaty. The coordination of international and foreign economic relations of the republics in the Russian Federation is carried out by federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation, together with the republics in the Russian Federation.

3. Questions of the possession, use, and disposal of land, its mineral resources, water, and other natural resources, are settled on the basis of the legislation of the Russian Federation and the legislation of the republics in the Russian Federation. The status of federal natural resources is defined in accordance with the mutual accord of the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the republics in the Russian Federation.

4. The preliminary agreement of the bodies of state power of this republic is necessary in the event of a state of emergency being introduced by the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation on the territory of a republic within the Russian Federation. The introduction by federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation of a state of emergency on the territory of a republic in the Russian Federation without its agreement is only permitted with the aim of stopping mass disorders combined with violence. If the circumstances serving as a basis for the introduction of a state of emergency concern the territory of only one republic in the Russian Federation, the state of emergency in this republic may be introduced by the bodies of state power of this republic with the notification of the Russian Federation president and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and is implemented in accordance with federal laws.

Article IV.

1. The federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation may, by agreement with the bodies of power of a republic belonging to the Russian Federation, transfer to these bodies the implementation of some of their powers, if this does not contravene the Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation.

2. The bodies of power of republics belonging to the Russian Federation may, by agreement with the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation, transfer to them the implementation of some of their powers.

Article V.

1. The federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of power of a republic belonging to the Russian Federation implement federal laws and other legal enactments of the Russian Federation within a republic belonging to the Russian Federation under the procedure stipulated by the Russian Federation's legislation.

2. Juridical documents issued by bodies of power of the Russian Federation and a republic belonging to the Russian Federation within the limits of the powers of these bodies, institutions, and officials are recognized throughout the territory of the Russian Federation.

Article VI.

1. Federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation cannot issue legal enactments on matters falling within the competence of the bodies of state power of a republic belonging to the Russian Federation. In the event of the bodies of power of a republic belonging to the Russian Federation issuing laws and other legal enactments on matters falling within the exclusive competence of the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation, federal laws apply.

2. Disputes on the matters aforementioned in paragraph 1 of the present article, and on matters related to objects of joint competency in accordance with article 2 of the present treaty, are resolved by the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation.

3. Relations between the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the republics belonging to the Russian Federation are based on the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the constitutions of the republics, and on mutual respect and mutual responsibility. Disputes are resolved with the mandatory use of conciliation procedures, as stipulated by the Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation.

Article VII

In the period until a law is passed and the relevant amendments and additions are made to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the demarcation of objects of competence and authority established by the present treaty cannot be altered unilaterally.

Article VIII

The present treaty is to become a part (an independent section) of the Constitution of the Russian Federation after it is approved by a Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. Amendments and additions to this section of the Constitution of the Russian Federation may be included by consent of the republics in the composition of the Russian Federation which signed the present treaty.

Every republic in the composition of the Russian Federation reserves the right to both sign the present treaty and to regulate its relations with regard to the demarcation of powers with the federal bodies of power in line with the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

[Dated] Moscow, 13 March 1992

Agreed and initialed by fully empowered representatives of the Russian Federation; the Soviet Socialist Republic of Adygeya; the Republic of Bashkortostan; the Buryat Soviet Socialist Republic; the Republic of Gornyy Altay; the Republic of Dagestan; the Kabardino- Balkar Republic; the Republic of Kalmykiya-Khalmg Tangch; the Republic of Karachayevo-Cherkesiya; the Republic of Karelia; the Komi Soviet Socialist Republic; the Republic of Mariy-El; the Mordva Soviet Socialist Republic; the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic; the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya); the Republic of Tuva; the Udmurt Republic; the Republic of Khakasiya; and the Chuvash Republic

Tatarstan, Chechen-Ingush Refuse

OW1303184292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1659 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Friday evening [13 March] in the meeting hall of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation the ceremonial initialing of the Federative Treaty was completed by representatives of Russia and republics of the Russian Federation. Tatarstan did not initial the Treaty, nor did Chechen-Ingush whose representative was not present at the ceremony.

In congratulating those attending the ceremony, head of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov said that the Treaty is an important step in burying the distrust among peoples of the Russian Federation. Khasbulatov expressed certainty that the remaining two republics would realize the necessity of initialing the Federative Treaty.

Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Yuriy Yarov said in an interview with "Interfax" that a date for the ceremonial signing of the Federative Treaty would be set soon. Russian President Boris Yeltsin will participate in the ceremony. Yarov said the Treaty would be signed by the end of March.

Yarov also reported that Monday [16 March] a date will be set for the signing of the Treaty be representatives of the regions and districts of the Russian Federation.

People's Congress Plans Declared Illegal

PM1303160592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution No. 2493-1 "On the Intention of a Number of Former USSR People's Deputies To Recreate Structures of the Collapsed USSR," dated Moscow, Russian House of Soviets, 11 March 1992 and signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet]

[Text] In accordance with the Agreement on the Creation of the CIS, the existence of the USSR and its organs on the territories of the CIS member states was ended. Yet certain former people's deputies of the collapsed USSR are undertaking illegal actions to recreate structures of the state which has ceased to exist, attempting to this end to organize a congress of former USSR people's deputies in the city of Moscow 17 March 1992.

Guided by the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Russian Federation and the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights and Liberties, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves that:

1. Attempts to resume the activity of any organs of the former USSR on the territory of the Russian Federation are deemed to be an encroachment on Russia's state sovereignty and are incompatible with the status of the Russian Federation as an independent state.

2. The Russian Federation general prosecutor will demand that the former USSR people's deputies who are organizing the meeting on 17 March 1992 strictly observe the laws of the Russian Federation and cease unlawful activity to recreate structures of the former USSR.

3. Until the adoption of a Russian Federation law on rallies, marches, and demonstrations people are to be guided, when holding them, by the provisions of the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights and Liberties adopted by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet 22 November 1991, in accordance with which the exercise of rights and liberties to change the constitutional system by violent means is prohibited.

4. In accordance with the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights and Liberties and with a view to ensuring observance of the cities' normal functioning needs, the organs of power and management of the city of Moscow, the city of St. Petersburg, and other cities in the Russian Federation are to allocate special places for the holding of rallies and marches and also to approve provisions on the procedure for organizing and holding rallies, street marches, demonstrations, picketing, and other similar actions in streets, squares, and other places.

5. The Supreme Soviets (parliaments) and heads of state of the CIS are to be asked to explain to people's deputies of the former USSR resident on the territories of those states the position of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium with regard to attempts to convene a congress of former USSR people's deputies.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

The Russian House of Soviets, Moscow, 11 March 1992.

CIS Commander on Withdrawal from Caucasus

LD1303211392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1825 GMT 13 Mar 92

[From the "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet" program]

[Text] [Announcer] At the evening session of the Supreme Soviet some information on the events in the Transcaucasus and the Dnestr region was imparted by Colonel General Pyankov, deputy commander of the CIS Armed Forces.

[Begin Pyankov recording] As you know, a decision was made some time ago to cover the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan from both sides by establishing outposts manned by the 4th and 7th Armies. Toward the end of last year there were 67 of these outposts. Their numerical strength varied. Over 2,500 men were deployed to man them. They covered the main areas accessible to men and vehicles. On the whole, these outposts were supported by the local population who provided them with food and regarded them as their defenders.

Throughout last year and almost continuously this year the outposts have come under fire from both sides. Marshal Shaposhnikov, the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces, decided that under the circumstances all the outposts should be withdrawn and the personnel redeployed in their normal base areas. This order was communicated to Colonel General Patrikeyev, the commander of the Transcaucasus Military District. As of today, 27 of the 67 outposts still have to be withdrawn. Why? Because the weather has been difficult. There is snow in the mountains. Roads are impassable. In some instances it has simply been impossible to withdraw the outposts. They are being blockaded by guerrillas who are present in considerable numbers. They are also being blockaded by the local population who, in some cases, are just not allowing them to leave, are not giving them any opportunity to leave, since they regard them as their only protection against attackers. Nevertheless, the order will be complied with. All outposts will shortly have been evacuated, even if this means that officers and men have to be brought out by helicopters and equipment has to be destroyed on the spot. [end recording]

[Announcer] The speaker went on to stress that the army is reluctant to get involved in solving interethnic conflicts. After numerous questions from deputies had been answered, the following decision was adopted.

[Begin First Deputy Chairman Filatov recording] Let's do this. Let us take note of that information. However, I feel we should instruct our committee on security and defense to get together with parliamentary groups to set up some kind of deputies group which will study and investigate these questions. I think that should be the first point. The second point should be the recommendation that we hear reports from the CIS command on these questions once a week. These matters are a constant worry and cause for concern to deputies. We need accurate information on this question. [end recording]

Other Conflicts Could 'Escalate'

LD1303234192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Mar 92

[L. Ioffe commentary: from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Colonel General Pyankov, who addressed Russian deputies today, spoke about some aspects of the Karabakh conflict which may not be so widely known. After the conflict escalated, the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan was held by outposts manned, respectively, by the 7th and 4th Armies. Initially, the local population provided them with food and drink. Subsequently, the outposts started coming under fire from both sides. Matters became worse as time went by. As the confrontation intensified, the percentage of local recruits in both armies increased. Only volunteers could come from Russia, and there were hardly any of them. As far as local recruits were concerned, there were instances of treachery and stabbings in the back—the notorious Afghan effect. It was extremely hazardous for Russian servicemen to defend themselves and guard their weapons. They had to defend their base, airstrip, and the settlement where their wives and children lived. According to Gen Pyankov, only a few dozen servicemen of the 366th regiment still remain in Karabakh. Almost all of them are Armenians. Military equipment has either been seized, withdrawn, or destroyed. Forty of the 67 outposts have been withdrawn.

The main theme of Pyankov's speech is fully in tune with the position of Aleksandr Rutskoy. Troops serving in the Transcaucasus should be transferred to Russia's jurisdiction so that they can be given political protection and withdrawn without delay. It is better that they be back in Russia, albeit not resettled, than killed in foreign lands. After all, not so far afield the conflict in the Dnestr region also threatens to escalate. The deputies honored the memory of servicemen killed in action by rising to their feet. [Video shows Pyankov speaking at the Supreme Soviet rostrum, followed by old film of the Karabakh fighting]

Communist Factions Express Resistance To Reform

PM1303144392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[Report by parliamentary observers Inna Muravyeva and Aleksandr Linkov: "If We Adopted Constitution Now We Shall Be Able to Preserve State's Integrity But Opposition Does Not Seem Concerned With This"]

[Text] On 10 March there took place in the Russian parliament what was perhaps almost one of the most representative meetings of parliament's communist factions since August. They were given the use of the White House's main auditorium.

Three parliamentary factions—"Communists of Russia," the "Agrarian Union," and "Fatherland"—invited representatives of factions of their orientation from the republic, kray, and oblast soviets. Ivan Rybkin, coordinator of the "Communists of Russia" faction, led the meeting.

Opening the meeting, Rybkin defined its purpose as "examining questions connected with the sixth Congress of Russian People's Deputies." During the discussion the meeting decided almost unanimously to examine the questions of the Constitution, the progress of economic reforms, the socioeconomic position of the peoples of the North, and many other questions.

But representatives of neither the "Rossiya" nor the "Smena" factions attended the conference that day.

The assurance of the coordinator of the "Communists of Russia" faction, I. Rybkin—"We are not seeking confrontation"—somehow was immediately shaken by the speech delivered by Yuriy Slobodkin, a member of this faction. He spoke about the Constitution. He was particularly angry that "the working group's plan is an elitist plan" geared to a Constitution not suited to our national features but more reminiscent of the American constitution.

Having initially asked for 15 minutes, Deputy Slobodkin spent 40 minutes on the rostrum, heatedly abusing Yeltsin, Kravchuk, and Shushkevich—the "CISists" who "have carried out a coup d'etat, while Yeltsin... violated 29 articles of the Constitution and still remains president after that!"

Then Yuriy Maksimovich complained extensively that alternative draft constitutions had not been considered at all. Now, incidentally, there are already two of them. One belongs to the "Communists of Russia" deputies' faction, the other to the Russian Communist Workers Party. The deputy said that, in the words of Mayakovskiy, there was a "trifling attitude" in parliament toward these documents, yet they contain guarantees for working people "like the right to work, to housing, to health care, to leisure, to higher education for all working people." Yuriy Slobodkin spoke quite vaguely about forms of ownership enshrined in the alternative drafts, calling them popular, personal consumer, and private labor forms. As a result the deputy did not leave a stone unturned of the draft prepared by the constitutional commission.

Rumyantsev, responsible secretary of the constitutional commission, who spoke next, tried to deny the charges leveled by Slobodkin, calling the speech the screenplay for a Hollywood horror movie. First of all he explained that presidential rule is a form of rule by the state transferred to Russia. The citizens of Russia voted for it at a nationwide referendum. And together with other states the Russian Constitution provides for considerable restrictions on the president's power by the Supreme Soviet. Parliament's control will be quite tough. For instance, it approves ministers and has the right to relieve them of their posts. The institution of state advisers in the form in which it exists now is being abolished. The advisers will perform consultative duties. It is planned to reduce the Congress' role to the solution of two tasks: the political task and the rotation to the Supreme Soviet. Oleg Rumyantsev explained that the Congress of People's Deputies cannot feasibly engage in legislative activity in the brief time allocated for its sessions. These duties should be entirely performed by the Supreme Soviet. Here the Congress retains the right to hear the president's reports and to draw conclusion on them and make political decisions.

Note was also taken of the fact that the draft constitution was not elaborated under Yeltsin as some people are now trying to claim. It is a document which was drafted over many years. To adopt the constitution now means succeeding in preserving Russia's integrity as a state. Attempts to sign a federative treaty first mean accelerating the destruction process. An example is attempts to implement a Union Treaty, which ultimately led to the collapse of the USSR. It so happened historically that Russia has always been built from above. Differences between subjects of the Federation can be removed by an agreement on the demarcation of powers. It is planned to do this in the very near future.

A. Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet, who had come to Moscow for just a few hours, provided information on the very acute crisis situation that has taken shape. He unreservedly criticized the Russian Government for the economic course it is pursuing. In his opinion this is the path to the abyss, and the crisis will spread over dozens of years. "I am not opposed to reforms, I am for the transition to the market," he said. "And they must be carried out by stages. We should not have broken up the old structures which were at least working or sent away experience cadres in control of the situation." Right now, he noted, an explosive situation has taken shape in the Kuzbass. On 12 March it was planned that a government commission should arrive to resolve it. But it can hardly do anything. He sees the way out of the situation which has taken shape in transferring more powers to the localities, leaving most of the taxes in the regions so that local leaders can get rid of the most painful areas themselves.

This meeting hardly brought the factions closer to consensus. On one thing they agreed: The reforms are being conducted incorrectly, there is much that should be done differently, and they should be headed by cadres tested by decades.

So that resistance to reforms locally will quite possibly be more serious and less forgiving this spring.

Regional Affairs

'Encouraging' Plans for Chechen-Russian Talks

LD1503212692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Report over video by R. Khadzhiyev, including interview with Kh. Akhmadov, chairman of the Chechen

Republic parliament on 15 March, place not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Khadzhiyev] Over the past few days heightened political activity has been observed in the capital of the Chechen Republic: A new constitution, a session of the Georgian parliament, a meeting between a group of experts from Russia and Checheniya in Dagomys. It is known that the sovereignty of the former republics has given rise to the problem of the so-called Russian-speaking population. How is this issue reflected in the new constitution of the Chechen Republic?

[Akhmadov] I have just ended a meeting with representatives of the Ethnic Union, which includes representatives of ethnic minorities of the Chechen Republic. They have expressed their support for the constitution of the Chechen Republic inasmuch as the rights of everyone, irrespective of national, religious, or political affinity and persuasion, are laid down in it.

[Khadzhiyev] Can you say what news there is at present from Dagomys?

[Akhmadov] There is good, encouraging, news from Dagomys. Talks at an interparliamentary level are planned for the end of April between the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation, and the main issue will be the political recognition of the Chechen Republic and its state sovereignty.

Political Recognition on Agenda

OW1503234692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Experts from Russia and Chechen Republic agreed in Sochi to hold the next round of talks in late March in Moscow. IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent in Groznyy reports quoting a member of the Chechen expert group that the timetable for holding talks between parliamentary delegations of Russia and the Chechen Republic have been practically agreed. The talks are likely to be held late April in Sochi. An exact date and the level of negotiators are the only issues that are yet to be defined.

A spokesman of the Chechen delegation said in Sochi that a group of Russian experts headed by Victor Zhigulin, deputy chairman of the Council of the Republic, one of the two chambers of the Russian parliament, agreed to recommend that the issue of recognizing Chechen's independence be included into the agenda of the forthcoming parliamentary talks.

According to the Chechen spokesman, Moscow's experts also agreed that the Presidium of the Russian parliament should consider providing the Chechen Republic with cash (Moscow owes about 1.8 billion rubles in cash to Chechen).

Movement Leader Urges Dudayev To Resign

PM1603115192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 92 First Edition p 2

[Letter from Vakhid Itayev, chairman of the coordinating council of the public movement for the restoration of the constitutional system in Chechen-Ingush Republic: "General, Do Not Threaten the People!"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] ROSSIYSKA GAZETA has found itself in possession of a letter from Vakhid Itayev, chairman of the coordinating council of the public movement for the restoration of the constitutional system in the Chechen-Ingush Republic, addressed to General Dudayev. We publish it in full.

General, you and your assistants openly introduced weapons into society six months ago. And, cunningly exploiting the idea of national freedom, you seized power. You promised the people mountains of gold and even camel's milk. But you began the path to prosperity in a strange way, using means which human society has forgotten since the start of civilizations: You opened the prisons. I do not say that there were no innocent people wrongly convicted by the former authorities. Undoubtedly there were. But there were also undoubtedly those who had committed serious crimes. And you set them free and, moreover, put weapons in their hands. You put weapons into the hands of young men, almost children, who because of their age cannot know the value of human life. As a result, general, murder became a habitual phenomenon. Hundreds of people are looking for their missing relations and are finding the murdered people in sewage ditches and rivers. For the first time in Checheniya women and children are afraid to go out onto the street the minute it gets dark. The people's tension has reached the limit. I do not even mention the economic aspect of the matter; people are not receiving their wages, old people their pensions, or children their benefits. Poverty and famine are at the door. The plants are coming to a standstill. The moral devastation is most terrible of all. And you and your assistants have brought that destruction, general. You and your assistants have addressed as many insults as there are drops of water in the Sunzha against those who did not support your shameless policy. And now you have turned to overt threats.

You have declared a curfew and are intimidating the people with armored vehicles.

General, it turns out you do not know your own people. Our people have always treated with scorn those who threaten them. And according to the ethics elaborated by our fathers it is unseemly to threaten men. That is a basic truth. You should have known it. To be frightened by threats means to cover your name in shame. You will not find many people among the mountain dwellers who will agree to do that.

General, unless you want to leave the political arena ridiculed by your people, you should do the following:

First, repeal the curfew, removed the armored vehicles from the squares, and lead the soldiers back to the barracks.

Second, resign.

General, seizing power is not difficult. But creating the muscular and nervous tissue of state and social structures and making them work full-bloodedly—for that patience, patience, and yet more patience is required. But you are a purely military man and not prepared for such activity.

General, do not threaten your people any more and resign.

[Signed] Vakhid Itayev, chairman of the coordinating council of the social movement for the restoration of the constitutional system in the Checheno-Ingush Republic.

Dudayev on Union of Caucasian States

OW1403012892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Interview with Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev by Anatoliy Zhuravlev; from "Nation and Society"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Corr.: What do you think of the prospects for the forming of a union of Caucasian states?

Dzhakhar Dudayev: I think Georgia is the most civilized nation in the Caucasus. Checheniya and Georgia should act in the outside world together. But that's not enough. In perspective all Caucasian peoples should come together. We should work out a program for the ultimate unification of all Caucasian peoples. Subsequently all areas bordering on our region should join us on the basis of economic cooperation. I mean Rostov and Volgograd regions, Stavropol and Krasnodar territories and so on. We don't have to look for any help abroad, we can get things going on our own.

Corr.: What problems do you face as you are trying to establish Checheniya as an independent state?

D.D.: The main problem is strong resistance on the part of Russia. We prefer civilized methods based on law, whereas Russia is still sticking to old ways and means from the days when the empire was being built—terrorism, crude force, political blackmail, bribery, and even armed intervention. Georgia is a very good example of this. I'm absolutely positive that this was a planned act of terrorism on the part of Russia raised to the rank of government policy, an act which Russia carried out jointly with reactionary forces in Georgia which are under Russia's imperialist influence. There are such forces in every republic of the former Soviet Union. All of us are in the same position, but Russia will get itself into trouble as well by encouraging and giving support to methods used by bandit juntas. Many of those who haven't been able to get anywhere by political means now count on the military. As regards the unification of the Caucasus, we have already embarked on this. President Gamsakhurdia and I have issued a joint statement in which we propose that a union of Caucasian states be a confederation. We'll be doing several things at the same time. We should above all bring together all political forces accepting the idea of a confederative union of Caucasian states. Secondly we should bring together all religious parties and movements. The Confederation of Mountain Peoples already expressed its support for the program at its recent session in Groznyy. We should also form our own joint armed forces to defend our interests and prevent any armed conflicts in the Caucasus. Apart from this, we want an economic union with all our neighbors, as I have said. We've signed economic agreements with practically all of them. Astrakhan Region was the last one to join up. But we don't want to confine ourselves to this either. We have other potential partners as well. For example, we have written appeals to the governments and peoples of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan calling on them to pool efforts with us to fight the economic blockade on the part of Russia. We have already sent our representatives to all these republics. We'll work out a program of joint measures but will do so secretly in order to start our resistance to the Russian leaders' policy of crude coercion in an organized manner and on the same day. We don't want to undermine the Russian economy, which is why we're selling all our output to Russia for next to nothing. Our goods are being sent to 140 regions in the country but we get none of those worthless rubles in exchange. Russia now owes us more than a billion. There's no money to pay even pensions to armed forces veterans, not to speak of others. I think this is a deliberate policy aimed at stirring up wrath among the masses. They are offering to send us this billion by non-cash transfer, but we can't accept this. We can respond by making some very interesting problems for the Russian Federation by pooling efforts with oil-mining and oil-refining regions.

Corr.: What attitude do Armenia and Azerbaijan take to the idea of a union of Caucasian states?

D.D.: There's a grave situation in both republics, but on the whole they agree to this, for this is in their interest as well. However they are being prevented from saying so openly. The main thing these days is to stop the war between them. We will be actively interfering in the political situation, for otherwise the war will spread to the rest of the Caucasus. It seems to me there's somebody's plan behind it, somebody's intention to set the two peoples against each other. We won't stand for this. As soon as we get to our feet we'll use every political means to put an end to the bloodshed, and will be doing our best to persuade the belligerents to start negotiations. We believe that, if the conflict is to be stopped, CIS troops must be withdrawn from the area. This is one of the main conditions. We are against third parties interfering in the conflict. But the Russian leadership is

interested in fanning it up in order to make it deeper and spread it to the rest of the Caucasus.

Chechen Republic Replaces Cyrillic With Latin

PM1303162392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report under "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" column: "Latin in Checheniya"]

[Text] The Chechen alphabet is to switch from Cyrillic to Latin script.

The Chechen Republic parliament adopted a law on this 11 March.

Popov Responds To Supreme Soviet Decision

MK1303091592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 13 Mar 92 p 1

[Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov "Statement": "Supreme Soviet Presidium Decisions Will Be Carried Out in Moscow"]

[Text] On 11 March the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the issues discussed in my statement of 10 March entitled "Rebuff the New Putschists."

1. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium gave a political and juridical assessment of the anticonstitutional action of the former USSR people's deputies, and following on from this assessment, it instructed the Russian general prosecutor, the government, and City Hall to ensure a ban on holding the so-called Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow.

This instruction will be carried out by all Moscow city administrative organs.

2. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium made an important decision about the procedure for holding rallies and demonstrations. While retaining prior notification of the convening of rallies and demonstrations, at the same time the Presidium gave the local administration the right to determine the time and the place at which events are held.

The Moscow administration will carry out this decision. In the near future we will publish for discussion among Muscovites a draft document on the procedure for holding rallies and demonstrations. It will specify the places where rallies and demonstrations can be held without government agreement, merely with prior notification. It will be stipulated that the holding of rallies and demonstrations elsewhere will require agreement.

3. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium made no decision about banning the 17 March rally, despite the patently anticonstitutional nature of the appeals being made by its organizers. Therefore, as I announced in my statement of 10 March, I have decided to allow the 17 March rally to go ahead.

The rally has been allowed, and Muscovites are free to decide, but I would like to stress once again that, in my view, participation in this sort of rally violates the Russian Federation Constitution and falls within the ambit of articles of the Criminal Code.

4. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium has instructed not just City Hall, but also the Moscow City Soviet to ensure the ban on the anticonstitutional congress.

However, at its 11 March session the Lesser Moscow City Soviet refused to discuss my statement.

The logic of political life is implacable: This constant opposition to the mayor over particular issues inevitably has reduced the Moscow City Soviet to a state of passivity on questions of protecting Russian Federation sovereignty.

The Moscow City Soviet failed to come up with words of condemnation for those who are demanding the establishment of a parallel parliament and a parallel president in Russia, and who openly demand that "Yeltsin be shot."

On 10 March the Moscow City Soviet simply stayed silent, but it was only a step away from turning into an organ that condones anticonstitutional acts. Admittedly, the Moscow City Soviet may now change its position, but what can I say about the faces of the people's deputies who, without so much as a blush of shame, reject a proposal if it is submitted by the mayor, but accept it if it comes "from above?"

Most Muscovites Reject Proposed Congress

LD1303224692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] An opinion poll carried out in Moscow shows 64 percent of Muscovites reject the idea of convening an emergency congress of Soviet People's Deputies next Tuesday [17 March]. The congress was proposed by a group of deputies. The idea has proved even less popular in the former Soviet republics which feel the revival of the supreme body of Soviet power is an infringement on their independence.

It was the congress which elected Mikhail Gorbachev national President and which decided to disband last fall at the initiative of Mikhail Gorbachev. All the republics have revoked the mandates of their delegates to the congress, but many deputies have objected to this and feel they must act to revive the union. The decision to hold a rally in Moscow next Tuesday in support of a revived Soviet Union has further aggravated tension.

Stankevich on Ethnic Separatism Threat

AU1303132692 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1100 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Christa Dertnig report]

[Text] [Announcer] Will the Russian Federation, the largest state of the Commonwealth of Independent States, also break apart after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union? Seeds of nationalism and separatism are also sprouting in the numerous ethnic groups in Russia itself. At any rate, Moscow City Soviet Chairman Professor Sergey Stankevich sees ethnic separatism as the main danger to the continued existence of the Russian Federation. Stankevich was appointed as State Council specialist for political movements in Russia by Russian President Yeltsin. During his visit to Vienna, Stankevich also spoke about the disintegration of Russia. Here is Christa Dertnig's summary:

[Dertnig] Today there are 20 republics on the territory of the Russian Federation. They formerly called themselves autonomous. Now they regard themselves as sovereign states. Stankevich thinks that this fact is a dangerous explosive for Russia. In the largest of these republics, Tatarstan, which is situated on the Volga in the middle of Russia, a referendum on independence will be held in ten days' time. Forty-eight percent of the population are Tatars; 44 percent are Russians. A positive outcome of the referendum would be the basis for the republic's complete independence from Russia. Here Stankevich sees the danger of a chain reaction:

[Begin Stankevich recording in Russian with superimposed German translation] In this way a gigantic hole into which the other republics might also be drawn would be created in the center of Russia. Although about 15 percent of the Russian population lives in these republics, they have more than 50 percent of the state area. Actually, what is at stake is the disappearance of Russia as a state and 112 million Russians who would subsequently lose a real state. This is a variant that is completely unacceptable to them. They are prepared to pay any price to prevent this. [end recording]

Stankevich thinks that negotiations with the leaders of the republics and a federation treaty, which is to be laid down in the future Russian constitution, would be a solution. He is not deterred by former Soviet President Gorbachev's futile efforts to solve nationality problems by means of a union treaty. So far, there have been good chances for a union treaty, he said. Only the independence referendum in Tatarstan and the possible example it might set might endanger it. Perhaps two or three republics will not sign it immediately, but we can wait, Stankevich said. After all, economic considerations also speak in favor of Russia. If the rate of the economic reforms in Russia can be maintained, we will show that, from the economic point of view, it would be more advantageous for the republics to preserve the Russian state, he said.

Interior Ministry Ships APC's to Krasnodar

LD1503112492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] The motor pool of the Krasnodar OMON [special purpose militia detachment] has received 10 APC's [armored personnel carrier] which have been allocated by the Russian Interior Ministry in connection with the tense operational situation in the Kuban region. Aleksandr Saprunov, head of the militia crime service of the Krasnodar Kray Interior Department, told an RIA correspondent that the APC's will be deployed at Krasnodar Kray border checkpoints.

Further on Kabardino-Balkariya Independence

LD1403200292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The former USSR is breaking into smaller and smaller pieces, rather calmly in some places. The Kabarda and Balkar peoples congresses decided to restore the Kabarda Republic and to form a Balkar Republic. However, the final decision will be made by the congress of Russian people's deputies, to which leaders of the national council of the Balkar people and the congress of the Kabarda people appeal:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Minayev] January 1992: Valeriy Kokov, Kabardino-Balkariya's first president, is swearing an oath of allegiance to the people. Ironically, he might turn out to be its last president, as well. To all appearances, the idea of separation has already taken possession of masses of both Balkar and the Kabarda peoples. It is supported by the republican parliament. However, there are many supporters of preserving a single Kabardino- Balkariya.

[B.K. Chabdarov, chairman of the national council of the Balkar people] We do not regard the movement for the unity of Kabardino-Balkariya as an enemy. Our only target—in particular, the target of the Balkar national council—is to guarantee that no destructive forces appear in the republic which might complicate interethnic relations.

[Minayev] Is it at all necessary to separate?

[Chabdarov] The inability to solve the problems put forward by the people locally in Kabardino-Balkariya and the certain loss of hope for possibly implementing the law on rehabilitating the repressed peoples put the Balkar people in a desperate position. They were forced to proclaim the Balkar Republic a subject of the Russian Federation. There is hope that the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, the president, and the congress of people's deputies will consider the materials that were presented. I am sure a positive solution will be found. [end recording] [video shows the proceedings of the congresses and Minayev's interview with Chabdarov]

Cossacks in Transdnestr Called 'Protectors'

LD1403150992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1346 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Rostov-on-Don—The Union of the Don Regional Army Cossacks intends to send more Cossacks to the Pridniestroviye Republic.

Ataman (chieftain) Victor Ratiyev also told PF [POSTFACTUM] that he has issued a decree binding all the officers of the Union of the Don Regional Army Cossacks to stay in the Pridniestroviye Republic for not less than a fortnight to be able to prove their military rank. At the moment there are about 50 Don Cossacks in the region. Their exact number is impossible to determine as from time to time some Cossacks leave to be replaced by others. As for the problems arising from their temporary leaving their full-time employment place in the Rostov region should be settled by themselves, Ataman Victor Ratiyev insists. He says the Pridniestroviye Republic residents treat the Cossacks very kindly and ask them not to leave offering them clothes, medicines and food as they see them as protectors of the Slavs.

Meeting of Autonomous Formations Held

PM1303114692 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 92 First Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Conference in Khanti-Mansiysk"]

[Text] Leaders of Russian autonomous okrug and autonomous oblast soviets have discussed the draft federal treaty before hearings have been held on this question at the Russian Parliament. Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, who had come to Khanti-Mansiysk to take part in a conference of the Association of Russian Autonomous Formations, submitted the draft to the heads of the national formations.

Before arriving in Khanti-Mansiysk, Ramazan Abdulatipov told journalists that he was by no means treating the conference as an "everyday event." As he put it, it could be a turning point in resolving the nationalities problem in Russia. In Ramazan Abdulatipov's opinion, Tyumen Oblast, where there are two large autonomous national formations, has "found the gentlest option for distributing powers between the oblast and the okrugs." At a time when Russia's autonomous formations have become involved in a "headlong sovereignization process," he explained, the Tyumen model of a negotiating process based on the formula "new functions with new obligations" is the "most realistic and effective" approach. The Khanti-Mansiysk conference ends today.

Elects President

LD1303224592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] A conference by representatives of all 10 autonomous okrugs of the Russian Federation has ended in Khanty-Manssiysk. A package of documents was formulated reflecting the position of its participants regarding the drafts of the constitution of the Russian Federation and of the federal treaty. In common opinion, the federal treaty should be signed on 20 March in Moscow, that is before the sixth Congress of the Russian People's Deputies starts its work.

The main result of the conference in Khanty-Manssiysk, according to our correspondent, was the formation of an association of autonomous okrugs of the Russian Federation. Vladimir Yatylin, chairman of the soviet of Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, was elected its first president.

Privatization Conference Sees 'Turnaround'

LD1503222992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] Given the all-round stimulation and deepening in the regions of privatization processes, the turnaround in the economy is real. This was the view of representatives of the committees for the management of state and municipal property in the republics, krays, and oblasts of the European territory of Russia today as they left the regional conference on problems of privatization held in Pyatigorsk.

Taking part in the conference were Sergey Filatov, First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, and Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the State Committee for the Management of State Property.

It was deemed necessary as early as March to approve regional privatization programs, which are balanced, meet local particular needs, and to get down to implementing them without delay.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Writes Shaposhnikov on Karabakh Conflict

LD1303141192 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Kiev March 13 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has urged commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth armed forces Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov to step up security at depots with weapons and military hardware, in order to prevent CIS troops from being used in the Karabakh conflict.

Kravchuk sent a letter to Marshal Shaposhnikov, which says:

"The tragic developments in Nagorno-Karabakh multiply the number of victims in the undeclared bloody war between the two neighbouring states. As the military conflict grows into combat operations on a larger scale, it brings fresh suffering and the death of innocent people. Drawing into the conflict servicemen of the units and formations of the CIS army, located in the Transcaucasian military district, and use by the warring sides of military hardware and armaments, stolen from army units, can only exacerbate the situation.

"All this necessitates urgent political measures for the settlement of the conflict. Ukraine is prepared to promote a search for ways to restore peace in the region, to defend human rights, to settle all contentious issues by means of negotiations in the framework of mechanisms envisaged by the U.N. Charter and CSCE documents.

"We expect you to step up security at arsenals and depots with armaments and military hardware as a priority measure aimed at preventing troops under your command from being used in the conflict."

Writes Azerbaijani, Armenian Leaders

LD1403123392 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] President Leonid Kravchuk has sent letters to the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Concern is expressed in them over the escalation of battles in Nagorno-Karabakh and involvement in them of separate units and formations of the Commonwealth troops. For the benefit of Azerbaijanian and Armenian people, note the letters, it is necessary to as soon as possible remove confrontation between them and find ways for the settlement of the Karabakh problem on conditions of compromise. Leonid Kravchuk assured that Ukraine is prepared to promote this process during the next meeting of the heads of state, members of the Commonwealth, which is due to be held on 20 March in Kiev.

Kravchuk Interviewed on Russia, Nuclear Arms

AU1303104692 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 10 Mar 92 p 8

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk by Maria Graczyk in Kiev; date not given: "Border Revisions Would Be the Beginning of the End"]

[Text] [Graczyk] Mr. President, some Ukrainian politicians think that your consent to the founding of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] was a political error because the Ukrainians will never again accept a new union with Russia. Moreover, with its demographic and military potential, Russia will play a dominant role in any kind of community.

[Kravchuk] One has to take the real situation into account. Emotions and the sense of honor must be put aside. The CIS is an objective reality, it was the way out of a dead-end road when all had understood that any attempt to reanimate the Soviet Union had definitely failed. Of course, there were also hotheads here who said: "Ukraine has declared its independence, now there is no longer an obstacle to its full implementation. Why the CIS?" But it is considerably easier to gain political sovereignty than economic sovereignty. The Ukrainian economy is closely connected with the other CIS states. It would be a catastrophe if these ties were cut off now.

But today these relations must be equal. The Ukrainian people, whose integral component is also the more than 11 million Russians living here, can no longer envisage another relationship with Russia. For this reason, one cannot talk of any kind of dominance. However, there are such attempts and unfortunately they will probably be repeated—after all, the imperial habits were cultivated for a long time.

[Graczyk] A permanent threat to the cohesion of the CIS is the possibility of a border revision. Do you believe that this problem has been definitely solved—even if the commonwealth falls apart?

[Kravchuk] The possibility of a border revision will exist as long as there are states. All of history shows this—conflicts and wars mostly have broken out because of living space and territories. However, we are living in another, civilized time where all problems can—and must—be solved peacefully, by means of rapprochement, understanding, and mutual compromises. On what basis is one to go back to the historical establishment of borders between Ukraine and Russia? The 19th century, the 11th century, or the 10th century? Or perhaps even further back?

Certain forces in Russia, particularly in the Russian parliament, again are making territorial claims and are appealing to "patriotism." They try to artificially play up the Crimean problem and the question of the Black Sea fleet. We are developing our relations with Russia in a civilized way; we are using the already signed documents as a basis—above all the treaty between Ukraine and

Russia of 19 November 1990 and the communiques that were signed after the talks in Kiev in August and in Moscow in November 1991.

President Yeltsin has repeatedly announced that Russia does not claim territory from Ukraine. Thus, we expect support from the democratic forces in Russia. Clever politicians understand that attempts to change maps mean confrontation, the beginning of the end.

[Graczyk] After the United States and Russia, Ukraine is the third-largest nuclear power in the world. This is a great responsibility.

[Kravchuk] We are completely aware of that and have announced that Ukraine will soon be a nuclear-free state. We want to get rid of all nuclear weapons: of the tactical ones by 1 July this year and of the strategic ones by the end of 1994. According to the treaty between the CIS countries, there is a strategic defense alliance with a joint command. However, after all warheads have been removed from our territory according to the disarmament commitments between the United States and the former USSR, we reserve the right to withdraw from this alliance. We want to build our democratic state in neutrality and nonalignment.

[Graczyk] However, there is currently still an army of 1.5 million soldiers in Ukraine.

[Kravchuk] Their number is a little bit smaller, but in any case Ukraine does not need such a big army. Taking the actual needs into account, the national armed forces will have 200,000 to 300,000 men. Officers and soldiers who come from other CIS countries can return to their homeland and continue their service there.

[Graczyk] What do you think of the motion submitted in the parliament to bring those who falsified information on the nuclear disaster of Chernobyl to trial?

[Kravchuk] Chernobyl is a national tragedy and an eternal wound. I am in favor of a just punishment of all culprits. There must neither be an acquittal nor a witch-hunt in this affair. This catastrophe in Chernobyl made it clear in what a terrible state the Soviet Union was. After all, all political decisions were made in Moscow, not in Kiev.

[Graczyk] What do you want to do to protect society from negative consequences during the transformation into the market economy and price decontrol?

[Kravchuk] As is known, after price decontrol in Russia we were also forced to take such a step in Ukraine. Thus, the standard of living has considerably decreased. In order to protect the population, the government developed several social measures, for which more than 23 billion rubles were provided from the state budget in the first three months of 1992. We hope that the people's difficult situation will be considerably alleviated on the road toward the market economy.

[Graczyk] However, you also need foreign capital to reach these ambitious objectives.

[Kravchuk] We are only at the beginning in this field. However, we are aware that the reconstruction of the Ukrainian economy is impossible without foreign investments and technologies. Last year, the Supreme Soviet passed a bill on the protection of foreign investments. A new one, which will also take many economic factors, such as taxes and loans, into account, will soon be passed. Numerous rules are to be liberalized, so that it will certainly be an incentive for foreign investors to do business in Ukraine.

Don Cossacks Involved in 'Gross Abuse' of Border

LD1503224392 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] According to mass media reports, armed formations which call themselves Don Cossacks are participating directly in the armed clashes in the Republic of Moldova. The clashes are the direct results of aggravation of the situation in connection with proclaiming the so-called Transdnestr Republic. Small enterprises and firms in Rostov, Sochi, and other cities of the Russian Federation pay expenses to maintain the Cossacks. Therefore, there are sufficient grounds to regard the presence and actions of the Don Cossacks in the Republic of Moldova as the use of mercenaries. This is inconsistent with the requirements and norms of modern international law, particularly with regard to the declaration on increasing the effectiveness of the principle of renunciation of a threat of or the use of force in international relations, UN General Assembly resolution 42/22 dated 19 November 1987, the 1989 International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing, and Training of Mercenaries; and other documents.

Taking this into account and also the fact that the movement of Don Cossaks across the territory of Ukraine is being carried out without the knowledge of Ukrainian authorities, the press center of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is authorized to state that such actions contradict the norms and principles of international law. They are the result of the gross abuse of the principle of openness of borders between the CIS member countries, and could lead to considerable complications of a political and international legal nature.

Scientific, Cultural Society Formed With Croatia

LD1403144992 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] A scientific and cultural society Ukraine-Croatia was formed in Ukraine. The work of this new organization is aimed at the broadest possible presentation of Croatia in Ukraine. For example, an exhibition of Ukrainian avant garde art was for the first time held in Zagreb. On 18 February 1992 Ukraine was the first to recognize state independent of Croatia.

National Affairs

Defense Ministry Says 5,000 Troops Must Leave

OW1303225592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A total of five thousand troops, who have failed to take the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine, must leave the country by March 15, sources at Ukrainian Defence Ministry said.

Aviation Division Commander Reinstated

LD1503033692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1916 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Kiev—President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk repealed an order of the CIS Joint Armed Forces command regarding retirement of strategic aviation division commander, Maj. Gen. Mikhail Bashkirov. PF [POSTFACTUM] learnt from the press-service of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry that Bashkirov has been appointed since March 12 assistant to the Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov and vested with rights of an adviser as regards the issues of organizing combat training of the strategic aviation division stationed in the town of Uzin (Poltava region). Previously, following orders from the CIS Joint Armed Forces command, Bashkirov was removed from the position of the division commander for having swearing in to Ukraine and for having administered the oath to the personnel of several regiments of his formation. The CIS command's order concerning Bashkirov's retirement was revoked March 12 by president of Ukraine's decree, and the general was reinstated in his position.

Kravchuk Discusses Crimea at News Conference

LD1303191892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] On 12 March the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk held his monthly news conference. Viktor Alekseyev reports.

[Alekseyev] Leonid Kravchuk stated that Ukraine is not fully confident that the tactical nuclear weapons taken to Russia are being destroyed. According to the president, Russia's capacities for fulfilling such a task are insufficient. Ukraine believes that international control should be established over the process of the destruction of nuclear warheads and proposes that a special enterprise be built on its territory for this purpose. This enterprise will also be engaged in processing the waste from Chernobyl-type nuclear electric power stations. In this connection the defense minister has been instructed to stop nuclear armaments being taken out of Ukraine.

Replying to a question about the prospects for Ukrainian CIS membership, Leonid Kravchuk noted that the main task of the Commonwealth consists in ensuring a civilized divorce of the countries of the former union.

The president also reported on the document on the demarcation of powers between the Crimean Republic and Ukraine. The Crimean Tatars have the indisputable right to return to the lands of their fathers. However, the interests of the 120,000 Tatars may not be put any higher than those of the other 2.5 million members of the population.

Kravchuk advocated the creation in Crimea of a two-chamber parliament, with the reservation that this is that republic's internal affair. One of the chambers can be formed on an ethnic basis, he said. In general outlines this idea coincides with the plans for a Crimean assembly. The possibility of holding talks with Crimea only on condition that it is part of Ukraine was especially stressed, even though within the republic it could be granted the most extensive rights.

Kravchuk-Supreme Soviet 'Confrontation' Noted

LD1303125692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 0936 GMT 13 Mar 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Kiev —Over the 100 days of Leonid Kravchuk's presidency in Ukraine the production of industrial goods has fallen by 24.4 percent. Instead of the privatization and denationalization decree, which Leonid Kravchuk promised at his first press conference as Ukraine's president, he started off by issuing a decree on setting up a state customs committee, whereupon he turned his attention to creating the republic's own army and issued a decree to combat speculation and black marketeering, which the business community described as anti-market.

Politicians point out that the confrontation between the president and the parliament has intensified. Kravchuk accuses the parliament of being incapable of producing constructive legislation, because the deputies were elected not on a truly competitive basis, but according to narrow professional criteria.

The deputies for their part accused the president of being grossly involved in building up his personal power and showing himself totally impotent in the economic sphere.

Kravchuk explains his mistakes by the complications of running the state, which, according to him, poses only 7 percent of property, while the remaining 93 percent does not really belong to us. Furthermore, Kravchuk points out, the administration of the state or the economy may not necessarily yield a result within 10 or 100 days. Within 100 days of his presidency, i.e., by March 13, Leonid Kravchuk has issued 152 decrees, and 39 executive orders. This was announced on March 11 by the president's press service. Ukraine's president has made

official visits to the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, Switzerland and also Russia and Belarus. Ukraine has been recognized by 104 states, 56 of which have established diplomatic relations with it.

Printing of National Currency Proceeding

LD1503032392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1916 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Kiev —President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk refuted accounts by the Detroit affiliation of the Ukrainian National Central Information Services regarding discontinuities of printing the Ukrainian currency. In his March 13 interview granted to VECHERNY KIEV daily and speaking about the alleged discontinuities of printing Ukrainian grivnas in Canada and the possible severance of contract with Canadian bank note company, president of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk made his point as follows:

I haven't familiarized myself with this information yet. I don't believe that money is a good subject for discussion, as it will bring nobody any good. One way or the other scores of people have been attracted to the work on the Ukrainian money, that's why this theme has gathered lots of guesses, insinuations and conjectures. I, for one, know just one thing: the money is being printed and the means involved in their printing are remitted regularly. So Ukraine shall have its national currency.

Decree Issued on Sevastopol Municipal Bodies

LD1303213392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a decree on bodies of state executive power in Sevastopol. Proceeding from the fact that Sevastopol is a city of republican subordination, in support of a proposal by the Sevastopol city soviet of people's deputies, and on the basis of Article 77 of the Ukrainian Constitution, all the municipal bodies of state executive power in the city of Sevastopol are to be placed in direct subordination to the central bodies of state power of the Ukraine, the decree declares. It has been established that the competence of the municipal bodi of state executive power in Sevastopol is determined in accordance with their status as state bodies in a city of republican subordination.

Decrees Issued on Income, Property, State Bodies

Indexation of Incomes Authorized

AU1603082192 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 10 (56), Mar 92 p 2

[Presidential decree "On Indexation of the Population's Money Incomes in the First Quarter of 1992" issued in Kiev on 28 February]

[Text] To resist inflation processes, I resolve as follows:

1. To implement indexation of the population's monetary income in the first quarter of 1992 by adopting those prices that were effective in January 1992 as basic ones.

The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine must introduce corresponding changes into previously adopted decisions regarding the indexation of the population's monetary income.

2. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine must resolve within two weeks the question of organizing assistance in kind and with money to low-income strata of the population.

3. To consider Article 4 of the 27 December 1991 Presidential Decree "On Social Protection of the Population in Conditions of Price Liberalization" as no longer valid.

4. The decree becomes effective on the day of its signing.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, president of Ukraine

Kiev, 28 February 1992.

New Institutions Created

AU1303195892 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 10 (56), Mar 92 p 2

[Decree on the creation of new institutions signed by Ukrainian President Kravchuk in Kiev on 4 March]

[Text] **On Founding the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine.** Its activity will be based upon the Constitution, and it may unite scientific-research institutes, methodological centers, laboratories, and other institutions in order to organize and conduct research in the sphere of education. The number of Academy members has been established: 25 full members and 45 corresponding members. In addition to the established numbers, full members and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences who reside on the territory of Ukraine may become members of the Ukrainian Academy.

On Creating the National Strategic Studies Institute. In view of the exceptionally great importance that the elaboration of scientific strategies has for the development of Ukraine and to provide organs of state power and management with timely scientific recommendations, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Strategic Studies Institute has been transformed into the National Strategic Studies Institute. It is directly subordinated to the president of Ukraine. S.I. Pyrozhkov has been approved as director of the institute.

On Creating the Institute of State Government and Self-Government. It will be organized as subordinate to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on the basis of the Republican Institute for Training Managers that is being dissolved.

Religious Property Returned

AU1303135692 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 10 (56), Mar 92 p 1

["Ukrainian Presidential Decree on Measures for Returning Property to Religious Organizations" issued on 4 March]

[Text] Taking into account numerous requests from religious organizations to return them buildings for worship and other property that was illegally withdrawn from church use, I resolve as follows:

1. The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, with the participation of organs that are in charge of protection of historical and cultural monuments, must determine which of the architectural monuments listed in the Ukrainian Council of Ministers resolution of 5 April 1991, No. 83, can be transferred, in accordance with the law, to religious organizations.

2. The Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, the Ministry of Finance of Ukraine, the State Property Fund of Ukraine, the executive committees of the Kiev Oblast and Kiev local councils of people's deputies, and the museum association "The Kiev-Pechersk State Historical and Cultural Reserve" must resolve, by 1 January 1993, in accordance with the existing procedure, the question of settling out from the territory of the reserve all those organizations and institutions whose activity has nothing to do with the fulfillment of the reserve's tasks stipulated by the law.

3. The Council of Ministers of the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], the executive committees of oblast and Kiev and Sevastopol city councils of people's deputies must

Complete, over 1992-93, the transfer of buildings that were initially meant for religious worship and that are being used for other purposes to religious communities' ownership or use without charge;

Organize an inventory of the religious property that is kept in reserves of state museums or in archives, in order to resolve, in accordance with the existing procedure, the question of its possible utilization as initially planned;

Assist religious organizations in constructing buildings meant for religious worship, in creating the material foundation for charitable activity, and in organizing centers for social adaptation of those citizens who have returned from imprisonment.

4. The decree becomes effective on the day of its signing.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, president of Ukraine

Kiev, 4 March 1992.

Rukh Faction Formed in Democratic Revival Party

OW1603000892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Rukh-oriented national democratic faction called Free Democratic Ukraine was set up within the Donetsk organization of the Democratic Revival Party of Ukraine.

The rest of the party argues for an economic and cultural autonomy of the Donetsk region and rejects nationalist ideology as "a tool of state formation".

Consequences of the breakup will be discernible at a regional party conference scheduled for late March.

Belarus

Diplomatic Ties With Germany Reestablished

LD1303145592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent Tatyana Khryapina]

[Text] Minsk, 13 March (TASS)—An agreement on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Belarus and Germany was signed today during a one-day official visit to Minsk by German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Genscher met with Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet, and Vyacheslav Kebich, head of the Russian Government, and also with deputies of the republican parliament.

The intention to become a nuclear-free and neutral state was reaffirmed by the Belarussian side. The republican leaders expressed gratitude for Germany's assistance in eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster. It was emphasized that the expansion of economic relations, cooperation in the sphere of ecology and protecting the health of the population are of paramount importance for both states at the present time.

During Hans-Dietrich Genscher's talks with Petr Kravchenko, the Belarussian foreign minister, it was emphasized that there should be a reestablishment of the traditional political, trade and economic and cultural ties which have typified relations between these peoples throughout many centuries, and that their further development should be encouraged. The sides continued to discuss questions connected with the payment of compensation for the Belarussian citizens who were victims of Nazi crimes. Petr Kravchenko drew attention to the fact that the talks on compensation should be completed as soon as possible.

The eminent guest laid a wreath at the obelisk-memorial on Victory Square. Genscher handed over to the Belarussian Red Cross Society documents for the acceptance of a consignment of medical supplies to the sum of 500,000 Deutsche marks. The distinguished guest leaves for Bonn this evening.

Significance of Relations

LD1303225292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By BELTA correspondent Tatyana Khryapina—TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 13 Mar (TASS)—Hans-Dietrich Genscher has called the agreement on the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Belarus and the FRG "an event of historic significance." Addressing a news conference on completion of an official visit to Minsk, the German minister said that he discussed "all matters relating to future bilateral relations" with the leaders of the republic and his Belarussian colleague.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher spoke about an intention to set up a Belarussian-German council for economic cooperation which should meet no later than the middle of next year, and also about FRG's readiness to help Belarus in establishing economic cooperation with the EC.

Then the eminent guest noted that during the talks Germany and Belarus came to a common conclusion that it is necessary for the CIS states to strictly observe treaties on security issues in Europe concluded by the former USSR. "We both also agreed, he said, to use treaties to prevent the transfer of nuclear weapons to other states."

Hans-Dietrich Genscher welcomed Belarus' readiness to join the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons and its firm will to become a nuclear-free country. He confirmed the position of the FRG on the inviolability of European states' borders as a safe precondition for peaceful coexistence of peoples.

"Coming back to the family of European peoples, Petr Kravchenko, the republic's foreign minister, noted at the news conference, Belarus once again states its adherence to a nuclear-free status, to developing and strengthening the CIS, especially in the economic sphere, and to a consistent and steady integration into the world market".

Agreement on Defense of Sovereignty Signed

LD1503161592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] An agreement has been signed in Belarus on joint actions in a critical situation if the republic's sovereignty is under threat. The following definition of the concept of the threat to sovereignty is given in the text: The emanation of a real threat of actions or actions themselves carried out by any forces and coming from the territory of neighboring republics with a threat to the republic's sovereignty and its constitutionally elected bodies of power; interference into republican internal affairs and exertion of pressure directed against territorial integrity and lawful bodies of power; direct aggression or a threat of aggression.

The agreement was signed by Shushkevich, chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet; Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Krawchanka, foreign affairs minister; Yagoraw, internal affairs minister; Shirkowski, KGB chairman, and representatives of all registered political parties, the people's front, national minorities, free trade unions and other public and political organizations.

Supreme Soviet Makes Government Appointments

LD1303210392 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarussian 0800 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Today is the third working day of the 9th session of the 12th Belarussian Supreme Soviet. It was decided yesterday that from now on the people's deputies will

start morning sessions not at 1000 but 30 minutes earlier. The additional time is to be alloted to discussing questions from the miscellaneous section. We will remind you that yesterday's evening session started by discussing personnel policy. Alyaksandr Abramovich, head of a chair at the law school at the Belarussian State University, was elected chairman of the Central Electorial Commission. Uladzimir Pilyuta, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has been relieved of his post in connection with his retirement owing to poor health. Uladzimir Zalamay resigned in connection with starting a new job.

The first law, on securities and a stock exchange, was adopted at the evening session. It will be implemented on 1 June of this year.

Vehicles From Ukraine, Baltics Restricted

LD1603043792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0130 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Text] The Varshavskiy Most [Warsaw Bridge] motor vehicle crossing point in Brest is ceasing, as of today, to admit tourists in motor vehicles from Ukraine and the Baltic states. The press service of the state committee for matters of guarding the Ukrainian state border reports that this decision was adopted by the Belarus Council of Ministers. The grounds for this were the rising flood of passengers leaving for abroad and also the unsanitary conditions, as well as the motor vehicle border crossing point's limited capacity. As far as citizens of Belarus are concerned, passage beyond the frontier detachment via Varshavskiy Most is restricted only temporarily.

Soligorsk Miners Resume Indefinite Strike

LD1203173492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1613 GMT 12 Mar 92

[By BELTA correspondent Valentina Menshikova for TASS]

[Text] Soligorsk (Minsk oblast), 12 Mar (TASS)—The Soligorsk miners today renewed the indefinite strike that was declared in April last year. The reason is a confrontation with the government which began in January with regard to differences over the agreement on pay rates.

"We insist on fixing pay guarantees on the basis of a minimum wage," Ivan Yurgevich, leader of the Belarus Miners' Independent Trade Union, declared. "Nor shall we retreat from our demands for securing social insurance rights and protecting the working people where jobs are being reduced. Strike committees are operating within the trade union's primary organizations. However, work at the pits has only been halted in respect of the extraction and dispatch of raw materials".

At the Republic of Belarus's State Committee for Labor and Social Protection of the Population, the BELTA correspondent was told that increasing the pay rates for those in the mining industry to almost 8,000 rubles is unrealistic in the present situation. In addition the miners are demanding that some of their pay be in hard currency.

The circle of conflict was completed by a government commission statement to the effect that with the resumption of the miners strike, talks on signing a pay rates agreement will be halted.

U.S. Donation Received by Gomel Hospital

LD1303213692 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarussian 2230 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] During today's deficit of medicines and equipment, a U.S. donation to Gomel doctors is nothing else but priceless. The first aid hospital has received a field hospital worth $800,000. The complete set contains antibiotics of wide-ranging effect, outfits for surgeons, disposable systems for intravenous injections, bed linen, and bandage material. However tempting at it is to start using all this modern medical arsenal straight away, most of it has been placed in reserve. The doctors realize that they cannot expect another such present and the local industry is unlikely to be able to produce anything like this in the foreseeable future.

Territorial Claims Against Lithuania Denied

PM1603125992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 92 First Edition p 7

[Report by Yurgis Tubinis: "But Were There Claims?"]

[Text] Vilnius—REUTER has reported that Belarussian Foreign Minister P. Kravchenko, during a luncheon with members of an EC delegation, spoke of territorial claims against Lithuania. The Lithuanian mass media naturally did not overlook this, especially as the historically close proximity of Lithuania and Belarus and the politicians' voluntarist decisions had created a knot of territorial questions. After the proclamation of Lithuania's independence, some newspapers of what was then still the USSR even published maps with the so-called disputed territories encompassing neither more nor less than the "disputed" Vilnius.

But S. Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet, said during a visit to Lithuania that his state's position is unequivocal—there are no claims. After the REUTER report, Foreign Ministers A. Saudargas and P. Kravchenko got in touch by telephone and the latter categorically denied that any statements had been made during his luncheon with members of the EC delegation.

It remains to be seen whether REUTER has got it wrong or there are some arguments in the higher echelons of the Belarussian authorities.... Can anyone allow in any case the slightest inaccuracies or hints in such a painful question?

Moldova

Muravschi Presents Transdnestr Peace Plan

AU1303193792 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] According to Chisinau Radio, Mr. Valeriu Muravschi, prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, addressed today's meeting of CIS government heads in Moscow on events in Transdnestra, which, he said, had been planned well in advance. Mr. Muravschi said that the rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr River are isolated from the republic, with the Transdniestrian leaders refusing to have contacts with Moldova's leadership. All bridges are blocked, and the separatists have five Grad military devices aimed at Chisinau. The prime minister said that the Republic of Moldova has no armed formations. He asked the leaders of Russia and the Ukraine to send observers to Moldova.

Mr. Valeriu Muravschi also presented the plan of the Moldovan leadership for resolving the conflict. According to this plan, all the rayons of the Republic of Moldova situated on the left bank of the Dnestr River are to be joined in a single county with the capital in Dubossary, which may also be granted the status of free economic zone. The prime minister particularly emphasized that, in case of a change in Moldova's state status, the population on the left bank of the Dnestr River will have the right to decide their fate through a referendum, MOLDOVA PRES reports.

Eyewitnesses Describe Dubossary Fighting

MK1203123092 Moscow Radio Sto Odin in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Leonid Zhukov commentary]

[Text] Representatives of Moldova and the Dnestr region agreed on 9 March to create security zones in areas of armed confrontation and to carry out a joint investigation into the reasons for the escalation of the conflict. At a meeting of the conciliation commission in Bendery the sides also discussed fulfillment of the conditions of the cease-fire and the mutual withdrawal of military formations. Agreement was reached on a mutual exchange of schedules for troop withdrawals. It was decided to adopt additional measures to avert new armed conflicts.

And now here is a recorded commentary by our correspondent Leonid Zhukov on the situation in the Dnestr region.

[Zhukov] The agreements reached once again by the conciliation commissions may simply remain on paper, like the agreements reached in two rounds of talks held earlier, immediately after the armed conflict in Dubossary. In this connection it is worth remembering the words of Vladislav Finagin, chairman of the Dubossary City Soviet, after his return from the second round of talks 5 March. At a late-night meeting with journalists he said that the signing of any protocols was senseless from the outset because the agreements reached are not being fulfilled anyway.

Any talks, the chairman of the Dubossary City Soviet said, will be meaningful only when they are held at the highest level between the leaders of Moldova and the Dnestr region. However, judging from the way the situation is developing, even this possibility in the efforts to settle the conflict, into which the Don and Kuban Cossacks have been drawn, seems extremely doubtful.

Judging by the appeal to the president of Moldova by the ataman of Southern Russia, Meshcherekov, the detachments of volunteer Cossacks that are continuing to arrive in Tiraspol will leave the Dnestr region only after full guarantees have been given regarding the safety of the population in the Dnestr Republic, proclaimed two years ago.

I will recall that the Don and Kuban Cossacks are sending volunteers to the conflict area on the basis of a request from the Black Sea Cossacks and the Dnestr region government. The guarantee of safety may not emerge in the near future for one simple reason: If the situation in the region over the two years since the proclamation of the Dnestr Republic in September 1990 is analyzed, it will be seen that the conflict of 1 through 3 March in Dubossary was already the fourth of its kind. This indicates that tensions in the region exist permanently and, whereas two years ago the possibility of achieving a compromise solution was quite real, today it would be rather difficult to do so.

The fact that the Dnestr region will remain part of Moldova only if there is a federation or confederation is beyond any doubt. The status of a free economic zone proposed for the Dnestr region by President Snegur is politically equivalent to returning the Dnestr region to the jurisdiction of Chisinau, and this is not acceptable to the Dnestr region, primarily because the question of reunification of Moldova with Romania has already been practically decided, although the republic's leadership continues to maintain that this has never been officially said.

However, to see that the opposite is true it is sufficient to analyze the situation in Chisinau. Here is how it is characterized by the leader of the Independents faction in the Moldovan parliament, Nikolay Andronik. I quote: The wave of 1989-1990 divided people along national lines. In order to remove a political opponent it is sufficient to accuse him of ties with the Russians. I know parliament from the inside. It is not capable of working. At present a minority of 50 people dictates what must be done to the majority. Things cannot continue this way. We have practically all become hostages. On the one hand there is the boycott of the left bank deputies, on the other the Moldovan People's Front faction. That is all. At the most this results in a maximum of 170 to 175 votes. These were the words of Nikolay Andronik, leader

of the Independents faction in the Moldovan parliament, in an interview with the newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA.

The Christian Democratic People's Front of Moldova is an organization which sets as its aim the unification of Moldova with Romania. The organization is headed by Mircea Druk, former prime minister of Moldova. He is the one who was responsible for the escalation of the conflict in the Dnestr region in 1990, insofar as the formation of subunits of Moldovan volunteers began at the time in response to his direct order.

Now let us take a look at a public opinion poll carried out by the National Institute of Sociology of the Republic of Moldova. Question one: Imagine that elections to the republic's parliament were to be held tomorrow. Who would you vote for? The respondents were provided a list of 14 parties. Eighteen percent of those polled did not express a desire to take part in the elections. Another 18 percent would not vote for any of the 14 parties. Now that is already 36 percent of those polled. The party that was listed first with 12 percent of the votes was the Christian Democratic People's Front.

So the picture becomes sufficiently clear and the fears of the population of the Dnestr region over the issue of reunification of Moldova with Romania do not appear to be so groundless. The question arises as to the extent to which the president, who claims that the question of reunification of Moldova with Romania had never been mentioned at the official level, controls the situation in the republic. At the same time five members of the Presidium recognize the program of the Christian Democratic People's Front of Moldova. In this case the Azerbaijani model of development of political events, with the resignation of the president and a subsequent escalation of the conflict in the Dnestr region, cannot be excluded.

As a result of the 1-3 March conflict seven people died and more than 50 were wounded in Dubossary. These losses were borne by Cossacks and civil guards of the Dnestr region who were accused by the Moldovan mass media of attacking a Moldovan village and committing outrages against the local people. In Dubossary I met the wives of servicemen from this civil guard regiment, which the civil guards of the Dnestr region and Cossacks were forced to relieve after they were attacked by Moldovan police. I say they were forced to do this because the command of the 14th Army chose a position of neutrality which could have cost dozens of lives if the Cossacks had not intervened in the situation. So here is what the women had to say:

[Unidentified woman] On 2 March at about 0320 my daughter went out on the balcony and said: Mother, there are a lot of armed people out there. I went out and looked through binoculars. There were very many, possibly 100, armed people in civilian clothes. They were armed with machine guns and there was a KamAZ truck into which they all climbed. Not all—some ran past our houses with machine guns while the KamAZ drove off toward the area of the unit. Some five minutes later heavy gunfire began in the area of the unit.

[Second unidentified woman] These people were already wearing bullet-proof vests. These people who came from the fields were ready. They were carrying machine guns which they apparently received from the police. My husband was at home and he said that he had seen these machine guns in the police department. There were also rural people among this armed group—we have lived here a long time and we had seen them before.

[Third unidentified woman] What can I say, my husband was also home. A soldier came running up and said: The Moldovans have seized the weapons, Comrade Captain. My husband got ready and ran off in that direction, and we did not see our husbands again. Heavy firing broke out and continued into the evening, the night, and the next day. From our windows we could see the Moldovans surrounding the unit and jumping the fences with their machine guns. Vehicles drove by, but they did not touch us. The evacuation began the next day at about 1100 hours, and we were evacuated by Dnestr civil guards and Cossacks, for which we are very grateful. Although there was talk about the Cossacks committing outrages there, nothing of the sort happened. They saved our children and I was personally escorted by a Cossack.

Firing broke out and although they could clearly see us running out of the buildings with children, they kept on firing. We could not even raise our heads. We all got into a bus in a matter of minutes. Everything happened very quickly. There was glass flying around. You can imagine how our children were crying. It was an awful sight. And then when we later watched Ostankino [television], which carried reports that our husbands were attacking (Kochier) village, well, we are simply speechless. Our bus was fired on twice. We drove very fast and were thankful for the Cossacks who returned fire and defended our children and us.

[Fourth unidentified woman] People left, grabbing bags with their documents, leaving all their money. The command of the Dubossary unit did not concern itself with us. When the firing was still under way the commander arrived. We will not say which commander, but he was the commander. He then flew out without bothering to ensure that the wives and children were evacuated. He flew out and left us to the mercy of fate. Thanks to the Cossacks, who were the only ones to take care of us. The servicemen had no interest in us.

[Fifth unidentified woman] I want to add that on 3 March at about 1100, civil guardsmen arrived at our unit. Heavy firing broke out as they released our husbands, who were hostages there. They freed the soldiers who were holed up in their barracks as well as guardsmen who were also in the barracks, defending them for about 24 hours. I saw the fighting, how they acted decisively, just like professionals. It was very fast. Literally in an

hour all the OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment] troops were forced out of the unit and it was freed. A guardsmen came to tell me that our husbands were free. They had been locked up in the basement. We are at a loss for words in thanking the guardsmen from Tiraspol and the Cossacks who...[changes thought] I simply have no idea how we got out of there. Our bus was fired upon fiercely, glass and shell casings were flying around. There were infants in the bus. Everyone was lying down. My child is still startled by any noise, even a rustle. All this was not true, it was only the Cossacks and the guardsmen who saved us, only they. [voice cracks] Many thanks to them, we do not know how to express all our gratitude to the guardsmen and Cossacks.

Nobody else cared about us despite our many appeals. How could it happen that the families of servicemen were left to the mercy of fate? Neither the Dubossary Regiment or the Tiraspol Army, nobody, everybody forsook us.

[Zhukov] Indeed, everyone forsook us. I will repeat myself by saying that in a situation where the Russian leadership finds itself incapable of defending the Russian-speaking population living outside the republic, the population of the Dnestr region is the only place in the former Union where the Russian-speaking population has proved that it is quite capable of defending itself alone. To what state must society have been reduced when women carry hand grenades in their purses instead of cosmetics and perfume?

This is a purely emotional side of the matter, but on 7 March in Dubossary I witnessed a Cossack explaining to several women how to use grenades. On the same day, after arriving in Chisinau, I simply had to admire the women carrying bouquets of tulips on the city's surprisingly clean streets, and I am sure they did not have grenades in their purses. Most likely they do not even know what grenades look like, and let us hope they never find out. They were wonderful, these women, the women in Chisinau with their bouquets of tulips and the women in Dubossary, weeping as they listened to a radio relay of the funeral meeting in Tiraspol, where four of the guards from the Dnestr battalion killed during the operation to relieve the civil defense regiment and evacuate servicemen's families from the conflict zone were being buried that day.

I would very much like to talk about stabilization of the situation in the area of the conflict, but the development of events makes this somewhat premature.

Units Reportedly Fire on Aeroflot Plane

OW1403142892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As IF [INTERFAX] learned at the Dnestr Republican parliament, on Friday [13 March] Dnestr guardsmen "repulsed an attack by Moldovan armed units on Dubossary". The attack "involved armored personnel carriers, grenade-launchers and firearms". There have been no reports on casualties.

The same source said on March 12 night a dam of the Dubossary hydro-electric power station was three times under fire from automomatic rifles. The power station has become " the hotbed" of the conflict between Moldova and the Dnestr Republic.

On the Moldovan side provocative shootings at the posts of Dnestr guardsmen involve mostly 14-16-year-old teenagers.

There have also been reports that on Friday Moldovan armed units "fired at an AN-2 airplane with "Aeroflot" idenitification signs" north of the village of Kochiyery. With damaged engine and numerous bullet holes the airplane managed to land. There have been no casualties.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1157 GMT on 14 March carries a report on violence in Moldova, which says: "An intensive exchange of fire broke out between Moldovan police that defends Koshnitsa village near Dubossary and guards from the Dnestr region this morning.

["According to a report by the Moldovan Interior Ministry, guardsmen from the Dnestr region attacked a car of the Dubossary District Police Department last night. The driver of the car was killed and several police officers injured as a result of the attack. Policemen who rushed for help fought back the attack. However, at dawn guardsmen drove two armoured vehicles to Koshnitsa, which opened fire at the village.

["In their turn, the Dubossary authorities accused the Moldovan Special Police Force (OPON), which attacked guardsmen's positions to seize the bridge and other strongholds, of escalating the situation. Moldovan Interior Minister Konstantin Antoch denied this report, telling to the ITAR-TASS correspondent that OPON was subordinate to the ministry and did not take independent actions to violate the cease-fire agreement."]

Interior Ministry Responds to Attacks

AU1503174892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1531 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1992—A press release from the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Moldova shows that after a bandit attack in the village of Cosnita by so-called guardsmen against a truck of the district police section of Dubossary in which one policeman, the driver of the truck, was killed and two police workers were wounded, measures were taken to reestablish order, put an end to such bandit acts and protect the population from separatist vandalism and terror. There were losses on the aggressors' side, too, during the clashes.

Later on, the radio station at Tiraspol opened a fierce propagandistic campaign in an attempt at creating a

state of psychosis in the area. The radio station insistently broadcasts false news items according to which the republican police carried out combat actions alongside the whole border of the so-called Dniester Republic, employing combat technique, tanks included.

The Press Bureau of the Interior Ministry of the Republic of Moldova says it is authorized to state that that is disinformation, a gross attempt to deceive public opinion. According to the law, the police of the Republic of Moldova has the mission to defend the life and the good health, the rights and the freedoms of all citizens, the interests of society and of the state in the face of such criminal attempts and other illegal acts.

Ultimatum Issued to Dnestr 'Armed Formations'

OW1503181692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldova Government demanded that all armed formations on the left bank of the Dnestr "voluntarily surrender their arms to the authorities" within 48 hours beginning on March 15, 1800. The Moldova Government's Sunday [15 March] appeal to the population of the left bank region emphasizes that unless weapons are surrendered, the republican law enforcement authorities "will take all required measures to protect the citizens irrespective of nationality from banditry."

Over the last few days, there have been unparalleled attacks on the legitimate power structures, terror against civilians and banditry. During the previous night bridges were blown up spanning the Dnestr in the region of Vadup Lui Vode and Dubossary, and on Sunday night the guards and Cossacks stole large quantities of weapons from a CIS base near Tiraspol.

The Moldova Government called on the population of the left bank to support legitimate power structures and force the armed formations of the Dnestr region to down arms and "mercenaries to leave the republic."

CIS servicemen were asked to stay away from interfering in the internal affairs of the republic and resist attempts to seize weapons.

Separatists Decree State of Emergency

AU1603110792 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Report by Gabriel Ionescu from Chisinau]

[Excerpts] The Government of the Republic of Moldova appealed to the residents in the rayons on the left bank of the Dniester River to lay down arms by tomorrow, 17 March, at 1800. [passage omitted]

Esteemed listeners, as of 0600 today, a state of emergency, with all its consequences, came into effect in the whole Transdnestr region, decreed by separatist leader Igor Smirnov. Last night at 2100, an emergency meeting of the so-called Supreme and Town Soviet was called in Tiraspol—a center of the separatist leaders—to which all directors of companies and institutions in town were also invited. Until now, no details were released concerning the issues on the agenda of this meeting.

Yesterday, he so-called Women's Strike Committee of Transdnestria blocked until 1830 the headquarters of the 14th Army Chief of Staff. These separatist demonstrators demanded that tanks and other military equipment be put at their disposal. Yesterday, in an interview with Radio Chisinau, Maj. General Yuriy Netkachev, commander of the 14th Army, said that he will refuse to comply with such demands and reiterated the principle of neutrality of the Armed Forces. He also said that he gave the separatist leaders a deadline for all weapons stolen from military units to be returned. General Netkachev said that one of the leaders of the so-called Dnestr Republic, (?Marecuta), had promised that the weapons will be returned to the military today. The general added that if the separatists do not meet his demand, he will take action to force them to give back the weapons.

As announced in my earlier reports, bridges across the Dnestr River were blown up in the area of Dubossary and Vadul lui Voda. Now I can add to it that according to news received from the conflict zone, the dam of the Dubossary hydroelectric power station has been mined. To prevent tragic consequences, a part of the people living in the small town of Criulem were evacuated and moved to higher places there.

Protest rallies took place yesterday in the rayon center Slobozia and in the village of Caragasi. Yesterday at 1900, about 500 people demonstrated in the Grand National Assembly Square in Chisinau against the separatist leaders and requested help for the peaceful population living on the left bank of the Dnestr River. At 2000, a group of people began ringing the bells of the cathedral in the capital city of the Republic of Moldova.

More on State of Emergency

LD1603114292 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 16 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Kishinev, March 16—A state of emergency has been declared from six A.M. on Monday [16 March] on the territory of the Dnestr republic by a decree of Igor Smirnov, president of the breakaway Dnestr republic, not recongnised by Moldova.

Tighter protection of public order and facilities essential for the populations supply and national economy is imposed. Checks on people moving through the area are introduced. All violators of public order, who are not residents of the Dnestr republic, will be expelled from the republic's territory. The same applies to workers of

law enforcement bodies and members of any voluntary or other units assisting the Republic of Moldova.

In accordance with the decree "On the introduction of a state of emergency in the Dnestr republic", there are restrictions on the use of copying equipment, radio broadcasting and TV equipment. There will be checks on means of transportation.

Control on the media is imposed. The activity of political parties, public organisations, mass movements, assemblies and citizens is restricted. Checks on citizens, their personal belongings and means on transformation are made.

A special regime of work is introduced at enterprises, in institutions and organisations.

Snegur Meets U.S. Diplomat on Mission Opening

AU1303193892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1749 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1992—On Friday, March 13 the president of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur received Nicholas Salgo, U.S. ambassador in charge with special missions, who introduced Howard Steers in his capacity as charge d'affaires of the U.S.A. in the Republic of Moldova, MOLDOVA-PRES informs.

The president of the republic was handed over a letter on behalf of President George Bush.

During the interview it was convened the opening of an American diplomatic mission in Chisinau starting March 13, and the Republic of Moldova is to open a similar one in the U.S.A.

President Mircea Snegur reasserted on the occasion the Republic of Moldova's adhesion to the democratisation process, underscoring that "constructive efforts would be made for the full assertion of the Republic of Moldova's freedom and independence."

Armenia

State of Emergency Declared in Town of Artik

NC1503151092 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Decree issued by the president of the Armenian Republic introducing a state of emergency in Artik, no date given]

[Text] Moved by a (?general desire) to speedily resolve the tense situation in Artik and restore legality there and to avoid new incidents, guided by Point 15 of Article 8 of the Armenian Republic Law on the Armenian Republic President, it is hereby decided:

1. To declare a state of emergency in Artik city and introduce a curfew between 0000 and 0600.

2. To appoint Colonel Suren Hovhannesovich Grigoryan commandant of the state of emergency.

3. To place responsibility for implementing this decree with the Armenian Interior Affairs Ministry.

4. This decree goes into effect as of its signing.

[Signed] Armenian Republic President Levon Ter-Petrosyan

Azerbaijan Said Concentrating Troops on Border

LD1303224492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2034 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Yerevan—The Armenian Interior Ministry reported that Azerbaijan is concentrating troops along its 730-kilometer border with Armenia.

On March 13, the Interior Ministry also told PF [POSTFACTUM] that, on March 12, in the vicinity of a settlement of Aigepar, Azerbaijani units supported by tanks and armored vehicles attacked Armenian positions and moved 12 kilometers inside the Armenian territory. Some people were killed and wounded. Senior Lieutenant Andrey Moseichuk, commander of an Army post stationed in the village of Tovuz, was killed.

PF was told at the 7th Army HQ that, learning of the break- through of Azerbaijani tanks to Aigepar, Senior Lieutenant Moseichuk reported it along the chain of command, and, being ordered to protect peaceful residents, arrived to the site with two armored combat vehicles. The group was noticed on the outskirts of Aigepar and a tank fired upon it. Moseichuk ordered to take the vehicles to a cover, armed himself with a grenade launcher and started to approach the tank so as to make a sighting shot. He had some seconds to go still when the officer was killed by an exploded grenade fired from the tank.

Attack Reported Inside Border

NC1303200692 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] Our correspondent reports that the situation remains tense in Tavushskiy Rayon. Aygepar, Movses, and Nerkin-Karmirakhpyur villages are still experiencing artillery shelling and gunfire which started yesterday morning. Four residents of Movses village were injured by shrapnel and taken to the regional hospital. One of them, mechanic Ilyas Adamyan, died. Scores of houses were destroyed and caught fire in these villages. Last night one enemy tank and an armored car broke through the defenses, entered Aygepar's canning and wine factories, and destroyed the assembly lines and raw and canned products before quickly withdrawing.

There are no dead or injured among the peaceful residents of Aygepar and Nerkin-Karmirakhpyur because the women, children and elderly were evacuated in time.

Lieutenant Andrey (?Mayerchuk), a commander of a CIS Joint Armed Forces 7th Army battalion stationed on Tavushskiy's border, died during a one-sided battle late last night.

The regional self-defense detachments, the special battalion and workers have regrouped and are returning fire to silence the enemy's firing positions. They are bringing the situation along the border under control.

Peacekeeping Forces in Nagorno-Karabakh Supported

LD1303114592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 13 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan believes that the presence of CIS peace-keeping forces could provide a real guarantee for the cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh. These should be monitored by CSCE observer missions.

Armenia will accept any decision which will satisfy the Karabakh population, Levon Ter-Petrosyan stated in a report today by ITAR-TASS.

President on CIS Arms Transfer to Azerbaijan

NC1303222792 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Statement issued by the president of Armenia; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The illegal transfer of weaponry and equipment to the Republic of Azerbaijan by the CIS Joint Armed Forces has become frequent recently. Thus, in 1992 alone, the Transcaucasian Military District's arms and ammunitions stocks totaling 8 megatons of power, which were envisaged to be supplied to the entire [word indistinct] and army units stationed in three Transcaucasian

states to ensure military operations during a war; the more than 50 T-72 tanks and other types of tanks; more than 100 units of military armored cars; scores of large-caliber artillery mounts, including the mass destruction BM-21 Grad mounts; nine (?squadrons) of military attack helicopters; [word indistinct] bombs; (?rifles) and ammunition have been handed over to the Azerbaijani Republic's Army.

All this weaponry, which has been obtained by Azerbaijan [words indistinct] immediately appears in Nagorno-Karabakh and is used to exterminate the native population there. As of March 1992 a part of the weaponry also started to be used against Armenia's border regions.

The leadership of the Armenian Republic proposes that the illegal transfer of weaponry and equipment to the Azerbaijani Republic by the CIS Joint Armed Forces' 4th Army units and subunits and the inaction of the high command of the CIS Joined Armed Forces be placed without fail as the first item on the agenda of the meeting of the Council of the Leaders of the CIS countries to be held in Kiev on 20 March.

[Signed] President of the Armenian Republic Levon Ter-Petrosyan

Transfer of Arms From Installations Banned

LD1303134292 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan March 13 TASS—The Armenian parliament banned on Friday [14 March] the transfer of weapons, armaments and other military hardware outside the territory of military units stationed in the republic. Any relocation of the hardware in between military units should be reported to authorities, according to a parliamentary resolution.

Those responsible for a loss, damage, elimination of military hardware, or its transfer outside the territory of military installations or unauthorised relocation in between military units will be "punished according to the law", the resolution said.

The decision was adopted by the parliament late on Thursday at a closed-door meeting. Relations with the CIS military units stationed in Armenia and the problem of "an artificial decrease in their security" were also discussed, the parliamentary press centre reported on Friday.

Nagorno-Karabakh Wants Talks With Azerbaijan

NC1503182192 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] The leadership of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] is ready to enter into a dialogue with Azerbaijan if the latter negotiates with NKR as an independent state and not as [words indistinct]. This was stated by NKR's leadership on 14 March during a news conference held for foreign reporters who arrived in Stepanakert as international observers.

Three Villages Captured in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC1303214992 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] As we had already reported, the Armenian self-defense forces occupied Syrkhavend village in Mardakertskiy Rayon. The village was one of the important headquarters of the Azerbaijani National Army. The Azerbaijanis there were firing on the nearby Armenian villages and were cutting off the only road which linked the Rayons of Shaumyanovskiy and Mardakertskiy with Stepanakert.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Supreme Soviet press center informed today that the Armenian self-defense forces launched fierce attacks and occupied (Bash-Gullabkaya), (Ortegunetkaya) and (Mameklu) Azerbaijani villages near Syrkhavend in Mardakertskiy Rayon on the night of 12 March and early hours of 13 March. These villages, which are near the Ichan-Mardakert road, were used for the last four years for attacks on cars passing through that sector. The passing cars used to be destroyed, burned, and ransacked, and their passengers either killed or injured. The Azerbaijani brigands often launched attacks on the Armenian village of Dzhanyatag from these villages, causing death and destruction.

Now let us give some details about the shelling of Stepanakert yesterday. The NKR Supreme Soviet press center reports that Stepanakert's residential districts were shelled from Shusha by Grad missiles between 1600-1845 on 12 March. Six salvos of 216 missiles were fired on the city. The Stepanakert Internal Affairs Department noted that this shelling from Grad mounts and a number of artillery positions was the most destructive since the beginning of the year. The Azerbaijani side did not even give any consideration to the fact that Baroness Cox and a group of prestigious foreign reporters and public activists were in Stepanakert at that moment.

It has been learned that two of those injured during the shelling of Askeran by Grad missiles on 12 March have died.

Baku 'Distortion' of Facts in Attack Reported

NC1503212292 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Station commentary]

[Text] Yesterday evening the Moscow news agencies put out a report citing Baku sources that the shelling of Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy and Kedabekskiy Rayons adjacent to Armenia did not end until 0500. According to the information center of the Azerbaijani People's Front,

there are dead and wounded. What is noteworthy is that this same report notes that the Armenian detachments have allegedly issued an ultimatum to the residents of Zangelanskiy Rayon and Zangelan, which border Armenia, demanding that they abandon their homes and move to other rayons or they will share the fate of the people of Khodzhaly.

We have long since become accustomed to the repeated distortion of facts by Baku news agencies. Otherwise, they would not have relegated to oblivion the attacks carried out by the Azerbaijani National Army against Aygepar, Movses, and Karmir Akhpyur villages in Armenia's Tavushskiy Rayon. Now the Armenian self-defense forces are inflicting the counter-strike they deserve. The Azerbaijanis forgot too quickly the massacre they themselves organized in Khodzhaly. The fact is that even according to Azerbaijani statements, before launching an attack the Armenian guerrillas warned the peaceful residents of Azerbaijani villages to abandon their villages and move to safer regions. We cannot remember Azerbaijan making any such humanitarian act of prior warning before attacking the residents of peaceful Armenian settlements. They are used to attacking in stealth.

Azerbaijan

Interior Ministry Reports Cease-Fire Violations

OW1303192892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1659 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Interior and Defence Ministries of Azerbaijan have reported that Armenians violated the cease-fire by shelling villages of Lachin, Kubatlin, Tauz, Kazakh and Agdam districts yesterday and this morning.

The telephone conversations between the acting Azeri President Yakub Mamedov, the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and the Karabakh leader Arthur Nkrtchyan resulted in the cease-fire which was expected to come into force at 19:00 on March 12 to carry out an exchange of the bodies and to inquire into the plight of the missing people.

The Azeri Interior Ministry has reported that Armenian militants control the villages of Bash Gyuneypaya, Orta Gyuneypaya and Maniakli of the Agdam district of Azerbaijan. According to the Armenians the villages belong to the Gadrut district of Nagorno- Karabakh. All routes of approach by air to the area are controlled by the Armenian forces.

Over 50 people are reported to have been killed and 100 injured in the Agdam district as a result of bombardments from Armenian village Hanabad and the district center of Askeran last night. Over 70 homes have been destroyed in Agdam. The Interior Ministry has confirmed that women and children have been evacuated from Agdam and Shusha in Nagorno-Karabakh.

According to Armenian sources the cease-fire was broken by Azeries who started shelling the town Khankendy (former Stepanakert) with "Grad" multiple rocket launchers and "Alazan" rockets from Shusha. They say that five people were killed and two wounded.

The same sources also say that the CIS forces in the Tauz district of Azerbaijan have handed 9 tanks, 13 APCs and a big amount of ammunition over to the Azeri forces.

Militia Officer on Violations

NC1503124292 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] The temporary cease-fire in the mountainous region in Karabakh, the imposition of which was reported by many world news agencies, was violated once again by the Armenians on 13 March. Special correspondent Eyvaz Yusufly has quoted Militia Major Mustafayev, officer on duty at the Internal Affairs Department for Karabakh, as saying the following: The town of Kapanly in Terterskiy Rayon was subject to an intensive Alazan and BMP rocket attack from the direction of Kyrmyzy in Agdara Rayon at 1830 on 13 March. Kyrmyzy in an Armenian settlement. Thanks to local militia efforts and the [word indistinct] battalion, the enemy was repulsed. Five Armenian BMP launchers were destroyed.

The situation in Agdam, Shusha, Lachin, Kubatly, and Zangelan was relatively calm on 13 March. However, [two names indistinct] towns in Agdamskiy Rayon were hit with artillery fire and Alazan rockets from the Armenian town of [name indistinct] in Agdara Rayon on the night of 13-14 March. No one was killed in the attacks.

Our special correspondents in Agdam have reported that they have established telephone contacts with the troubled areas in Karabakh. We will inform you on the operative reports once we receive them.

Draft Accord on Peace Plan Signed in Tehran

LD1503193192 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 15 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran March 15—Representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan signed on Sunday [15 March] a draft agreement on the settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh. After two-day negotiations in Tehran with the participation of Iranian officials as mediators, the sides worked out the basic principles of solving the problem—temporary ceasefire which should later become permanent, exchange of prisoners and dead bodies, the lifting of the economic blockade from populated localities.

'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian foreign minister, who signed the draft agreement together with Azerbaijani Deputy Foreign Minister Albert Salamov and Armenian Deputy Foreign Minister Armen Navasardyan, told a briefing

that the document will be submitted for endorsement to the heads of the two republics and will then become valid.

Russian Ambassador to Iran Vladimir Gudev invited to the meeting by the Iranian minister, participated in the negotiations as observer.

Extraordinary Meeting Held on Spread of 'War'

NC1503210292 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] An extraordinary meeting was held at the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet on 15 March with the representatives of the ministries, main administrations, unions, the Azerbaijan Popular Front, and social organizations participating. The meeting was held in accordance with an initiative by representatives of Agdamskiy Rayon. Yakub Mamedov, head of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, chaired the convocation. Agdamskiy Rayon representatives drew attention to the need for urgent measures in the rayon relating to the situation in the mountainous region in Karabakh. The war has exceeded the boundaries of Karabakh and spread to the republic's rayons that border Armenia, which poses a threat to Azerbaijan's territorial integrity. Nevertheless, the state of indifference in the republic's capital and several other rayons completely conflicts with the military situation.

Emotions grew stronger and stronger during the first few minutes of the meeting. Yakub Mamedov succeeded in changing the atmosphere, however, and as a result the concrete measures required to change the existing situation were drawn up. Instructions were given to the pertinent ministries and main administrations. Yakub Mamedov demanded that leaders of the pertinent groups carry out responsible work for the organization of the defense of Agdam and the republic's rayons which border Armenia. He also said that any kind of lawless activity against military units in the republic is impermissible.

A group [grup] was established during the meeting of the republic's leading officials. The group will travel to Agdam City to ascertain the measures required by the situation and provide moral support.

Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov; Ziyad Samed-zade, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet; and Tamerlan Karayev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, participated in the convocation.

Session 'Interrupted' by Vance Visit

OW1603122792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1023 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan has been interrupted for a week, until March 24, in view of a visit by the UN Secretary-General's special envoy Cyrus Vance.

Mr. Vance arrives in Baku on Tuesday [17 March] to collect information about the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and to look for ways to end it. He is scheduled to visit Nagorno-Karabakh and later Yerevan.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Appeals to UN, CSCE

LD1303181792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Natan Barskiy-TASS]

[Text] Baku, 13 Mar (TASS)—"The Karabakh conflict, which, not by our will, is turning into armed confrontation between the two peoples, might become only the first CIS war", Yakub Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, thinks. He expressed this opinion in an appeal circulated by AZERINFORM today and addressed to the UN secretary general, the chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and the chairman of the European Parliament. Yakub Mamedov believes that the United Nations, which at present gives membership to CIS member states, should require that they strictly observe all international acts and agreements on the inadmissibility of the revision of territorial borders and the violation of the principle of state integrity.

The United Nations, the chairman of the Azerbaijan Parliament stressed, can and must use its reputation in order to end the gunfire and start the process of peaceful settlement of the conflict. He writes: "We also call on plenipotentiary representatives and observers from world community bodies to come here to Azerbaijan immediately, to see the scale of the tragedy, stop aggression, and to work out effective decisions on the inadmissibility of the recurrence of similar phenomena throughout the geopolitical space of the former USSR."

CIS Troops Give Equipment to Azerbaijan

LD1303200492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Report by E. Sakhinov from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Here in Karabakh the noise made by the military and some of the media around the incident in Artik is seen in a rather unattractive light. Quite justifiably, we journalists are asked why numerous cases of the seizure by Azerbaijani military groups of hardware and arms belonging to units stationed on Azerbaijani territory are hushed up.

How will the military explain how literally yesterday, 12 March, without a single shot being fired, a subunit of CIS troops handed nine T-72 tanks, 12 armored personnel carriers, and one infantry fighting vehicle over to the Azerbaijani military formations in one of the Azerbaijani rayons? These, incidentally, are already being used against the Armenians. Yesterday self-defense forces in Askeranskiy rayon captured five military hardware units

and one T-72 tank, whose crews turned out to be representatives of the 23d Division of the 4th Army. Those are the brief questions that are put to us journalists. In Karabakh they are joking bitterly that a political resolution of the problem will arrive only when none of the Armenian population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, driven into cellars and confronted by the threat of hunger, are left. This looks like the truth.

Ministry Regrets CIS Officer's Death

LD1403232192 Moscow TASS in English 2148 GMT 14 Mar 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev]

[Text] Baku March 15 TASS—Major Igor Kolodiy from one of the units of the fourth army of the CIS Armed Forces, deployed in the Primorskiy township, in the suburb of Baku, was killed on Saturday [14 March].

According to the Azeri Defence Ministry, an Ural truck carrying a group of armed officers which was moving towards Baku did not fulfill the command of the road police post. Road police men, who did not know who the passengers of the truck were, began to pursue it after making several warning shots. During the pursuit the servicemen threw a grenade from the driver's cab to the road and opened fire from automatic weapons. An exchange of fire began, in the course of which Major Igor Kolodiy was killed.

The Azeri Defence Ministry expressed regret over this tragic incident which involved the loss of life. At the same time, it stated that the road police men had acted in accordance with the decree of the Azeri president. It forbids the redeployment of army units and military hardware by the territory of the republic without the notification of the Azeri Defence Ministry, which was not done in this case.

'Militants' Release CIS Officers

OW1403181092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the CIS Armed Forces announced on March 14 that two officers of a tank regiment, taken hostage near Baku on March 13, had been released, after Commander of the 4th Army, Major-General Nikolay Popov expressed resolute protest to the Azeri authorities against that act and after Azerbaijan's acting president Yakub Mamedov instructed the police to free the hostages.

On March 13, eight militants stopped and opened fire at the jeep with Lieutenant-Colonel Kalashnikov and Senior Lieutenant Budayev. The militants demanded that Kalashnikov order to give them 5 tanks and ammunition. When those demands were flatly rejected the two officers were taken hostage.

According to the press center of the CIS Armed Forces, it was not the only attempt to take hostages for extorting armaments on that day. In the evening March 13, a similar attack was prevented near Baku, where a military unit is located.

Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Detailed

Armenians Ready for 'Partisan War'

LD1403234992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Mar 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to assertions by the DR Press Agency [expansion unknown], in the Nagorno-Karabakh mountains storage premises, snipers' earth and timber emplacements, and special paths between populated points are being prepared. Armenian detachments are stocking up with food, weapons, and clothing and are preparing for a partisan war. To all appearances, this war, which is planned for summer, will not be restricted to Nagorno-Karabakh.

Armenians Demand Evacuation

LD1403145792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1418 GMT 14 Mar 92

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev]

[Text] Baku, 14 Mar (TASS)—The shelling of the villages of Kazakhskiy and Kedabekskiy Rayons of Azerbaijan adjacent to Armenia, which started on 13 March Friday, only ended at 0500 this morning. According to reports from the information center of the Azerbaijan People's Front, some residents were killed and wounded.

Last night Kristall-type missiles were fired on the Azerbaijani towns of Agdam and Shusha. Several residential houses and structures were destroyed. The population of these towns, which have been systematically subjected to missile and artillery shelling, were evacuated some days ago.

Residents of the populated centers of Zangelanskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan, on the border with Armenia, and of the rayon center itself, received, the other day, an ultimatum from Armenian combat formations stationed in the adjacent republic. It contains demands that the residents of these Azeri-populated areas immediately leave their homes and go to other rayons, otherwise, the ultimatum says, they will share the fate of the population of the town of Khodzhaly.

Hostages, POWs Exchanged

LD1503210992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] An exchange of hostages and POWs took place in Nagorno-Karabakh on 15 March. This was reported

from Stepanakert by an RIA correspondent. In accordance with agreements previously reached, the conflicting sides, it is reported, exchanged approximately 40 persons.

Agdam, Shusha Shelled

OW1503180592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Azerbaijan reports that three people died and eight were killed in a nighttime missile Grad and Uragan attack on the towns of Shusha and Agdam. On the night of March 14/15 the town of Agdam was shelled from Askeran and Khankendy and the village of Khanabad by 16 rocket salvos, destroying three houses in Shusha and 11 in Agdam.

According to the Azeri Interior Ministry, over the last few days the Armenian forces captured nine villages in the Agdam region of Azerbaijan, including Ortataya, Shelli, Shotlanly, etc. No reports are available of what happened to the village population.

In the meantime, the influx of refugees from West Azerbaijan to the capital and other Azeri cities has been swelling. Baku alone must provide housing for up to 15,000 refugees.

Yusuf Samed Oglu, an Azeri people's deputy and member of the National Council, described to IF [INTERFAX] the reasons of why the republic was creating its defense committee. He noted that the the very bad situation in the republic naturally necessitates a strong coordinating center for the protection of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity. With this objective in mind, the state defense committee was set up composed of the interior minister, defense minister, national security minister, an opposition representative and chairman of the Baku executive committee.

Stepanakert Under Attack

OW1503165892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Stepanakert (Khankendy) the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, was under continuing rocket and artillery attacks all day long on Saturday. Lur, the Karabakh news center, reports that the city was fired upon five times by multiple launchers called "Grad" from Shusha. Two residents of Stepanakert were killed, another two wounded. 11 buildings were destroyed.

At the same time, the nearby Armenian village of Karintag was fired upon from Shusha. As a consequence, 8 houses were burned to the ground, 17 houses destroyed. Reports about casualties among civilians are being checked.

The Armenian self-defense forces opened counter fire on Shusha using "Grad" multiple launchers. According to reports, Shusha, the city from which all women and children have been evacuated, suffered significant damage and fires.

Two women were killed by Azerbaijani fire in the village of Khnatsakh of the Askeran district in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Well-place sources in Yerevan report that the self-defense forces of Nagorno-Karabakh seized the village of Kazanchi of the Mardakert district from the Azerbaijani army which captured it on March 6. There have been no reports so far about 200 Armenians from Kazanchi who stayed in their village when it was occupied by the Azeris.

French Reporter Denies Reports

LD1403235492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0930 GMT 14 Mar 92

[Text] Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary mission in Moscow has circulated a statement by Florence David, correspondent of French television's fifth channel, in which she denies (INFORMTSENTR PRO-ARMENIYA's) report falsifying her statement on film footage submitted by the Azerbaijanis on 1 March. Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary mission reports that this falsification gave rise to an extremely acute reaction in the Republic and insulted the memory of the innocent people who were killed in Khodzhaly. The French journalist's statement was received on 13 March by FAX from Paris and is presented with a Russian translation. Florence David says that she did not make any statements to anyone at all, never gave any interviews, and did not publish any messages on this matter. She unequivocally says that the statements and claims quoting her are twisting her words and states most categorically, as the statement notes, that disinformation quoting her name is impermissible.

Moscow Television, Other Media Criticized

NC1603121592 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The nature of those who try to present a distorted picture of the war in the Karabakh mountains and in other parts of Azerbaijan is common knowledge. Prominent among them are the Moscow television network and several newspapers and journals published there.

In a news bulletin on 15 March, Moscow television again distorted the social and political situation in Azerbaijan, noting that the republic's government establishments cannot find a peaceful settlement to the Karabakh problem because the Azerbaijan Popular Front [APF] obstructs it. The correspondent said the APF supposedly obstructs efforts for a peaceful solution to the Karabakh problem.

Anyone who knows anything about developments in the region can see the objective pursued by Moscow television and newspapers published in the Russian capital, which serve Armenian interests. Their objective is quite clear—to create a confrontation between the government organs and the social organizations, political forces, and political parties in the republic so they can have us destroy each other.

Regardless of the provocative statements and reports, we will keep trying to prove that the social organizations, political forces, political parties, unions, and government organs rally to the same objective, removing the Karabakh dispute, which has been forcibly imposed on our people, safeguarding our republic's territorial integrity, and maintaining the struggle we wage for Azerbaijan's independence. We must not be surprised by the calumny leveled against us by Moscow television and the other provocative media organs and newspapers. Our bitter experience of the past 70 years and the war waged in our republic have again revealed that Azerbaijan's enemies are many. We must unite to struggle against them as one front.

Georgia

Government Negotiates With Gamsakhurdia Backers

OW1503163292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1414 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A sitting of the Georgian State Council under Eduard Shevardnadze discussed Saturday [14 March] evening the volatile situation in West Georgia, first of all in the town of Zugdidi where the ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has particularly strong backing.

The State Council decided to send a delegation under Nodar Natadze, chairman of the Georgian Popular Front, to negotiate with Gamsakhurdia backers in Zugdidi.

On Sunday the delegation returned to Tbilisi. Its head, Natadze, told IF [INTERFAX] that the situation in Zugdidi is "tragic." According to him, the national guards and the Mkhedrioni (Horsemen) organization that are loyal to the new authorities, did not "always treat the local population in the proper fashion," leading to numerous incidents.

However, said Natadze, there are emerging signs that there is a way out of the crisis situation in west Georgia. According to Natadze, former parliamentarians and Gamsakhurdia backers Valter Shurgaya, Vakhtang Kobalia and chief of Gamsakhurdia's guards Gocha Bakhia "made sensible proposals this time."

The chief proposal is the return of the guards and Mkhedrioni to their permanent bases. Local police must assume control of the situation in the town. Local elections must take place in Zugdidi. All the armed units in town should be given an official status and have a guarantee of personal safety.

If these demands are complied with by the State Council, all hostages and captives will be released immediately and all armed opposition to Tbilisi authorities will stop. Natadze reported that the Sunday State Council sittings will consider results of the talks and the proposals.

Cease-Fire in Zugdidi

LD1503220992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 15 Mar 92

[Text] According to a report by a Tbilisi correspondent from the ANI agency, a cease-fire agreement has been reached in the town of Zugdidi in western Georgia. According to the agency, the conditions for the cease-fire stipulate that detachments of the National Guard and Mkhedrioni must be withdrawn from Zugdidi and its suburbs, control over the town must be transferred to militia forces, and armed supporters of ex-president Gamsakhurdia must be transformed into formal units.

Negotiations To Continue

OW1603120992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1023 GMT 16 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's State Council [SC] has in principle accepted a package of compromise proposals advanced by Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters in Zugdidi, a city in the republic's west, said its head Eduard Shevardnadze to journalists after a Council meeting on Sunday evening.

Valter Shurgaya and Vakhtang Kobalia, ex-MPs and leaders of Zugdidi-based Gamsakhurdists, met a few days ago with members of a special commission appointed by the State Council, and advanced a number of suggestions as to how to normalize the situation in the city.

According to Nodar Natadze, head of the SC commission, some of the proposals "do make sense," notably on withdrawing the national guard units and the progovernment paramilitary organization Mkhedrioni (the Horsemen) to their permanent positions and putting the Zugdidi police in control of the local situation. After new city authorities are elected, all armed units in Zugdidi should be given an official status and guaranteed personal integrity.

The Gamsakhurdist leaders from Zugdidi promised to stop any anti-government actions and release all prisoners and hostages in the event their demands were met by the State Council.

According to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, the SC commission led by Natadze will continue negotiations in Zugdidi on Monday [16 March].

Reportage on Fighting, Hostages in Zugdidi

'Completely Cut Off'

LD1303180992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The curfew in Tbilisi has been extended until 1 April and, while the city is calm outwardly, the war is still making its presence felt. Every day guardsmen bring weapons out of Tbilisi's attics, cellars, and apartments. Today they found a 35-mm cannon, four Alazan missiles, and a large-calibre machine-gun. Alarming news from Zugdidi in western Georgia is coming in of an armed attack on a militia detachment in which six militiamen were killed. Hotels have been blown up and 18 students have been taken hostage. Members of the Georgian State Council are not hiding their concern. They are discussing the latest crimes: A helicopter has been fired on and forced to land its 32 passengers in Zugdidi. Four guardsmen have been released from captivity. After being tortured, they were taken to a Kutaisi hospital in serious condition. Zugdidi is under blockade and the town is completely cut off.

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] On the one hand, administrative measures of some kind are required to establish elementary order, but that is not what is most important. Most important is a political dialogue with the population and with the activists. This is a unique place, you know, a very interesting and good people. A group is going to Zugdidi today and I am convinved that peace is possible only through political efforts. [end recording]

Government Forces Captured

LD1303221592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Report by K. Dzhaniya from Sukhumi; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Rumors that the situation in Georgia is becoming more stable since the arrival of Shevardnadze have evidently been exaggerated. While the former USSR foreign minister has been receiving congratulations on his new appointment, the guardsmen of the council that he heads have shed the blood of Zugdidi residents—22 people have died. Two days ago, an assault force was brought into Zugdidi rayon by helicopter from Tbilisi to put down an uprising by bandits. However, all the guardsmen were taken prisoner. The hostages turned out to be Karkarashvili, who had been acting commander-in-chief of the National Guard under the provisional government, and Deputy Defense Minister (Kutataladze). The hostages affirm that they are being properly treated.

[Begin female hostage recording] They are treating us normally. Everything is fine. [end recording]

The situation in Zugdidi rayon is completely controlled by a committee of national disobedience of the State Council, headed by Valter Surgaya, which has emerged from the underground.

[Announcer V. Flyarkovskiy, in studio] The Georgian Ministry of State Security points to the concentration in Zugdidi of as many as 1,500 fighters who support the ex-president. They have blocked access to the town on three sides. The FAKT news agency, citing the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs, has reported that according to reports, Gamsakhurdia supporters are preparing terrorist acts against the leaders of the Georgian State Council: Eduard Shevardnadze, Dzhaba Ioseliani, and Tengiz Kitovani.

Hostages Said Tortured

OW1303211992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Interior Ministry's information center has reported that supporters of the ousted Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia freed one of the 14 National Guards taken hostage on March 11. He says that Gamsakhurdia's supporters torture the rest to make them denounce the new republican leadership in front of the camera. The National Guards Commander Georgiy Karkarashvili and the Deputy Defence Minister Abessalom Kutateladze (and not the former Defence Minister, as IF [INTERFAX] express edition No.2 on March 13 reported) are among the hostages.

The Commandant of Tbilisi Gela Lanchava told IF that during the search of flat on Friday night a 30-mm automatic gun and several surface-to-surface rockets were found.

Forces Urge Halt

LD1303191192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1732 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By SAKINFORM correspondent Guram Chanishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi, 13 Mar (TASS)—Georgia's national armed forces command today proposed to the armed subunits supporting ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia that they halt their actions, which are bringing much trouble to Georgia. If this demand is not fulfilled within two days, the appeal says, we will be forced to resort to harsh measures. The ex-president's supporters are also given a complete guarantee of their personal safety and of an unlimited opportunity to campaign politically.

Council Issues Appeal

LD1303182192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1658 GMT 13 Mar 92

[By SAKINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi, 13 Mar (SAKINFORM-TASS)—The Georgian State Council today adopted an appeal to the republic's population. Recently, it noted, positive changes have taken place in Georgia's state and political life: The Military Council has given up its power and transferred all authority to the State Council and provisional government; an irreversible process of democratization is going on in the republic. However, evidently such prospects do not suit the forces trying to destabilize the situation in any way possible. The appeal says that all acts of terror and diversions which have taken many lives in the town of Zugdidi and its surroundings are being organized by an insignificant group of supporters of the authoritarian antidemocratic regime who have ensconced themselves in Groznyy. The appeal stresses that the people inspiring the antipeople actions should realize: The present Georgian authorities are united, strong, and vigorous, and any action against the people will be stopped by the will of the people.

Supporters Continue Attacks

LD1603100792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1545 GMT 15 Mar 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In Georgia, the center of armed resistance by supporters of Gamsakhurdia has shifted to Zugdidi. Witnesses comment on some of the results of the recent raid on a hotel in the town in which antitank weapons and grenade launchers were used. A report from Kutaisi.

[Begin recording] [R. Chankvetadze, head of the Kutaisi national guard battalion] The storming of the hotel where our lads were staying [was carried out by] the president's people, of course, commanded by (?Kubaleg), the former commander of the Zugdidi battalion. They surrounded and burned the hotel, as a result of which six disfigured bodies were brought out—first they were shot and then burned.

[Unidentified correspondent] The State Council and the government are still trying to settle the conflict by peaceful means. A group of representatives from Tbilisi has just returned from Zugdidi. What is the news?

[Tbilisi University Professor I. Natadze] With goodwill from all sides, the entire conflict can be completely settled.

[Correspondent] A fire broke out this morning in the house of former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. The cause of the fire is being investigated. The house-museum of his father, the classic exponent of Georgian literature Konstantin Gamsakhurdia, was unharmed. [end recording]

[Announcer] Meanwhile, Eduard Shevardnadze, the head of the republic's State Council, does not believe it is possible to hold parliamentary elections in Georgia while Zugdidi remains in the hands of Gamsakhurdia's supporters. Shevardnadze said this means a continuation of the civil war. Appealing to the West, the former Union foreign minister called for the establishment of diplomatic relations with his homeland. This will help prevent the Lebanonization of the Caucasus, Shevardnadze concluded in an interview with the ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Apart from that, the current leader of Georgia is trying to seize the initiative in Caucasus-wide affairs. As a first step, he is proposing the creation of an association of leaders of the Caucasian republics. Something similar had been previously proposed by Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, but his proposition, distinguished by an anti-Russian thrust, failed to find a response.

South Ossetia Fired on From 'Three Directions'

LD1503101792 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 15 Mar 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 15 TASS—Following several days of relative calm, the situation in South Ossetia became aggravated again. Last night, residential areas of Tskhinvali and checkpoints of Interior Ministry troops were fired upon from three directions for several hours from large-caliber machine-guns, grenade launchers, automatic weapons and sniper rifles.

Fire was conducted by militants from among former Georgian president Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters who are in the nearby villages of Nikozi, Tamarasheni, and Ergneti. There were no immediate reports about casualties.

Ossetian self-defence detachments returned the fire to neutralise attackers' weapon emplacements. According to Oleg Teziyev, commander of the armed forces of the South Ossetian Republic, the latest bandit action by Georgian militants was aimed at hindering positive processes that have begun to emerge in the socio-political situation in the republic and at frustrating contemplated talks between the Ossetian side and plenipotentiary representatives of Georgia.

Nationalism Said Problem for Shevardnadze

PM1303145692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Vladimir Nadein article: "Shevardnadze's Last Pinnacle"]

[Text] In Groznyy, Urus-Martan, or wherever else he is secretly staying, former Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia will repeatedly experience a special kind of satisfaction: No, he was not wrong, he correctly predicted who exactly would profit from the fruits of his downfall.

As he travels along the wrecked and charred Rustaveli Prospekt, Eduard Shevardnadze, the new chairman of the Georgian State Council, will frequently remember his comfortable office in the Foreign Policy Association in Moscow and the crowd of pleasant, educated foreigners in his reception room, eager to meet the man who is never wrong.

Shevardnadze was invited by an American university 22 March—there will be a major conference in Washington on problems of freedom of the press. Shevardnadze will not go. He will not go to many other conferences, symposiums, and sessions to which he will be invited.

Even if James Baker, whose personal friendship Shevardnadze values very highly, invites him to visit his native Houston again, Shevardnadze will refuse. He will refuse with a heap of apologies and formalities, which this courteous Georgian does so charmingly, but he will refuse firmly and clearly.

And although Shevardnadze has proved himself to be as indefatigable a traveler as the tireless American secretary of state, you will see that Baker will sooner find himself in Tbilisi than Shevardnadze in Houston.

Of course, Shevardnadze has not forgotten and will never forget how nice and pleasant it was for him in Houston in the welcoming home of the Bakers, visiting secretary of state's 90-year old mother. December in Texas is even warmer than it is in Tbilisi. Shevardnadze was on good form; at that time he managed to do what even Gorbachev himself did not manage (a 1.5 billion grain loan and the repeal of the Jackson-Vanik amendment); this was still a few weeks before his dramatic resignation from the post of USSR foreign minister. At that time, no one in the world, not even Shevardnadze himself, could have supposed that this unparalleled resignation would turn out to be one of the most fantastic prophecies known in history.

On that occasion, he left in order not to lose. A rare episode in Shevardnadze's political biography. Usually he arrives in order to win.

When Shevardnadze arrived at the White House on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment at two in the morning, many of us who were standing in rings that night of 20-21 August breathed easier. It was not that we doubted Shevardnadze's nobility or his ability to risk everything. But his risks were always based on calculations.

There is an astonishing contrast between the past two Georgian leaders. It would be difficult to pick people whose careers are more different in so many important respects.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia is young, politically speaking, while Eduard Shevardnadze is a patriarch. Gamsakhurdia is a dissident and a scion of an ancient, distinguished Georgian family. Eduard Shevardnadze is an old Komsomol leader and partyocrat, the son of a rural teacher. Gamsakhurdia knows several foreign languages, but nevertheless managed to evoke the firm mistrust of the world community in a matter of six months. Shevardnadze speaks even Russian with a heavy accent, and he is deaf and dumb abroad without an interpreter, but he smiles his charming smile and contacts seem to establish themselves of their own accord.

People who know Shevardnadze affirm that this smile should not deceive his foes. Shevardnadze is a tough and skilled administrator who tends to rely in his work on a small group of tried and tested people; he trusts them alone.

When he became Georgian leader, Shevardnadze added himself to the list of old party guards who were called to power by new circumstances to carry out completely new functions.

This in itself does not serve to rehabilitate the old regime. It is clear that democracy is not a way of appointing good people to important posts. Even under democracy scoundrels can come to power and dictatorship can put forward a brilliant individual as leader.

Democracy is a procedure. It is human rights protected by the armor of the law. And although many people maintain that Shevardnadze is a good man, the near future will show to what extent he is devoted to democracy. But a great deal is already clear.

Under Shevardnadze, Georgia will receive international recognition quickly. Under Shevardnadze Georgia is guaranteed economic ties, credits whose size will depend on the rate of transformations, admission to the CIS (if Tbilisi wants this), and admission to the United Nations. Under Shevardnadze Georgia will undoubtedly have no restrictions on the press, creativity, political activity, entry and exit, or other basic freedoms.

Shevardnadze's experience may be required in the near future if not straight away, in order to bring peace to the whole uneasy Transcaucasus region. Since Geydar Aliyev, leader of Nakhichevan, has no real chance of returning to Baku, the old personal tensions between these two former Politburo members will not reemerge. And Shevardnadze's skill in finding points of conciliation between warring sides and his high international prestige are an obvious boost for regional accord.

But there is also another important problem to which none of the former partyocrats has yet managed to provide a satisfactory answer. None of them has yet definitively disproved the maxim of Adam Michnik, the Polish defender of human rights, who said that nationalism is the obligatory final stage of communism.

With all former party leaders, no matter how honest the procedure whereby they were elected, you can perceive in their activity a fear of being insufficiently committed to the national idea. The leaders of the former imperial centers (for example Russia and Serbia) are most afraid of being accused of breaking up a "great country." The heads of the states that were until recently dependent are bending over backwards in the struggle for inviolable autonomy.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze is a world celebrity, the fusion of two cultures, Georgian and Russian, a person of astonishing natural talent polished by a huge torrent of information and contacts throughout the world. But will even he have enough strength, courage, and political resourcefulness to make sure that the exclusive national values in the proud and touchy Georgia occupy their rightful place: coming not before, but after the values of democracy and the rights of the individual?

At the moment, no one knows the answer to this question, not even Shevardnadze himself. But he knows that this is most probably his last pinnacle even if, true to himself, he has again arrived in order to win.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Addresses Council on Independence

LD1103210892 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1015 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Speech by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, at solemn session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius on 11 March, commemorating second anniversary of restoral of Lithuanian independence—live]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues deputies, dear guests. Most likely we will return more than once to reflect on the decisions adopted by us on 11 March 1990, when we will think about their Lithuanian and international significance. This solemn session of the Supreme Council is a fitting occasion for this, too.

Doubts were voiced this year by the Lithuanian emigres about which date should be marked more solemnly—16 February or 11 March. When I was asked I used to reply: Definitely 16 February. Its significance cannot be suppressed. Apart from that, the difference defined in our laws is indicative of this, too: a state holiday and a memorable day.

On the other hand, we have discussed the inclusion of 11 March on the list of memorable days. This, on its part, provokes some thoughts and requests to make some comparisons. Sometimes we assess our history according to oldness; the older the events, the more significant they are. But maybe the matters look different from afar than from here, from this spot. Maybe future generations or some seimas of a later convocation will reevaluate the significance of 11 March.

To us 11 March is a symbol of the liberation from the Soviet Union. This is our live history on the spot, which has affected everyone and which led to a reexamination of some of us. To other people, that is foreign politicians, and especially to ordinary but politically minded people in other countries, 11 March is and will remain a challenge by a small and resolute nation to the empire of evil—the Soviet Union—and the verification of the aims and power of that empire.

Lithuania is today important to the world with its latest history and with its actions which have affected the course of history both inside and outside Lithuania. Will the words by Yelena Bonner that 11 March confirm the end of the Soviet Union? This question will be answered at some time by the historians. But such opinion already exists in the world today. You were the first, they say about our country. We do not boast. On the contrary, this is proven by the rather modest attitude of our state to our day of new regeneration and by repeated vague explanations by some thinkers that, allegedly, 11 March, like 13 January, did not decide anything—we would have regained our independence anyway without the efforts or sacrifices.

Let us leave such explanations to the conscience of their authors. Let us also leave to other people in other places the evaluation of Lithuania's international contribution in destroying the communist dictatorship. Let us remember and endeavor to understand the importance to Lithuania itself of the legal acts of that day and the further peaceful struggle, based on them, lasting for one and one-half years until the complete international recognition of the 11 March act.

It was the recognition of the restored independence on an international scale. It promised somewhat greater external security and raised a far greater responsibility—how we realize the obtained possibilities of freedom for the benefit of Lithuania and for the people's well-being.

The date 11 March decided Lithuania's path. This path was an ideal and a means of tactics at the same time. The Sajudis has emerged as a young force of Lithuania's regeneration, and therefore it was natural to see the following aim: complete independence and now.

Other people have been striving to advance step by step, to fight or beg piece by piece; not to make the stronger cross, to know one's small place at the table of the great lords of history. But the Sajudis deputies promised at the spring elections of 1989 to defend Lithuania's sovereignty everywhere and always. They have kept this promise on the Moscow battlefields, from the very first day of the first congress of people's deputies when we refused to take part in the election comedy of the Supreme Soviet, until the last day of the second congress when we returned home on Christmas Eve with a present for Lithuania—the denunciation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact which was wrung in Moscow by force.

Therefore, a few months later, in the spring of 1990, it was unthinkable for us to elect the Soviet Union's president, thus directly acknowledging the Soviet Union's sovereignty over Lithuania. This would be equal to treason and would mean a legal quagmire. It was essential not only not to take part and also not to be deputies of that state when the president would be elected in Moscow, and, may be, at once granted powers to crush those who allegedly wished to separate. We did this, too. We announced that the USSR deputies elected in Lithuania were about to lose their status. However, there have been debates, regrets, doubts, and reproaches which have been repeated for a long time; by playing a double game both in Vilnius and Moscow we could gain more.

But a principled and in some sense idealistic view of law and policy has won. A different view would be a conformist one, both to law and policy. More politely, it could be called pragmatic. The struggle for these views has been taking place between personalities and groups, and it has been taking in some cases in one's mind, too. Its course could be easily followed in the two years after 11 March, and this struggle continues—an eternal struggle for man himself, for his essence which is expressed in his work, and thus in policy, too.

When we recall the first blockade, the proposal by Mikhail Gorbachev to proclaim a moratorium, the merciless ultimatums by the neighbor, and sacrifices by the defenders, all the laws strengthening the state and its lawful interests, the principal parting of the ways of views and maybe of the habits of sovietism is seen to be emerging. But conscience, the angel of regeneration, has often been taking part in the voting of those who wavered. Therefore we have been advancing.

Eleven March also exposed yet another parting of the ways between views and orientations. For some people the salvation and the savior were only in the East, whether he was called Mikhail or oil, or whether it was decisive changes helping Lithuania, everything was there and had to come from there. It would remain for us only to watch which eastern wind was blowing and to make clever use of it.

To other people Lithuania seemed to have the only and maybe the last chance to save itself. This salvation and redemption was near to the minds, not of some cleverly calculating but to the longing hearts. It was emerging from the post-war resistance, from the sacrifices of the exiles, and the fighters for freedom of conscience from Lithuania itself, from its unbelievable centuries-long history of survival. The sovereign will of Lithuania had to speak; its name, its Lithuanian people, its Lithuanian nation, its citizens, land, and toil. Changes had to take place first of all here and come from here. Let us do everything ourselves. Then, sooner or later, the West will suppport and the East will recognize.

This parting of the ways has on its own part thrown light on two views on the content of independence: subordinated to the East or joining the West. According to this, two eastern policies and one or one and one-half Western policies have been forming in Lithuania. Those who did not win called this other policy completely unsuccessful. The idealist policy of certain principles had a sign of special vocation and therefore of stability: not to change direction, to advance, and do everything we can manage. Maybe there is not much time. But people trusted that the deputies would strive for real changes, even if they lost as regards personal position, life, or career. One could be a loser in the summer of 1990, in January and August of 1991, and not many people know what this spring will bring.

But the task consists of achieving as much as possible of what cannot be recalled on the path of independence. The admission of Lithuania to the United Nations and the newly restored Vilnius archbishopric under the patronage of the holy father are the achievements which cannot be destroyed by anyone. We have been advancing toward them, not dreaaming, but carrying out the state work, fighting nothing more than the war of ideas.

How stubbornly and angrily Lithuania's aims used to be distorted! We have not forgotten that the struggle has been going on for international opinion, for world public opinion, which used to be influenced by the skillfully created cult of Mikhail Gorbachev, and which believed in the regeneration of communism proclaimed by him, and in the granting of greater freedoms to some.

We used to be accused of seperatism and we had to reply scores of times: No, we are a seperate state, occupied by that other state, and not just some lawful domain of Gorbachev which suddenly decided to seperate. We used to cite Denmark and Norway, which in 1945 regained their freedom but did not seperate from Nazi Germany. I had to explain to the Prague students: imagine that the Nazis had won the war and only now, although Hitler is dead and his inheritors are more humane, you ungrateful people no longer wish to serve in the German Army and are even thinking of restoring your state.

To students and those not professional in politics, everything was clear. But professional politicians were watching the electors, the interests of their states, and possible deals. They were affected by a huge machine of Soviet propaganda, lobbyism, and various penetrations.

Lithuania's voice was not large and not even united, which at times has even irritated our friends. However, we had to reply to every propaganda assault and neutralize it. People said: They are tearing the Soviet Union apart, and what will happen when all of it suffers a terrible fall? Will you take the responsibility? We used to reply that whatever is transpiring within the Soviet Union is its internal affair. We are on the sidelines and are only desirous of setting up regular interstate relations and of assisting Mikhail Gorbachev in shaking off the inheritance of Stalinist crimes. While you, Gorbachev's friends, should advise him to follow this path, otherwise the entire forced Union might really disintegrate.

Fairy tales were spread from the Kremlin towers concerning the midnight plot by the Vilnius Sajudis' followers. Meanwhile, we continued to remind Western diplomats that Lithuania's independence was restored by lawfully elected deputies. Indeed, it was that which they had hoped for and awaited through voting. Had we decided differently we would have disappointed them and would not have justified our mandate.

Someone proclaimed about us in the Western world, where law is indeed being honored, that we were supposedly following an unconstitutional path, refusing to align ourselves according to the republic non-secession law proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev. How many times did the former Soviet Union president fool the West. Supposedly he was not against Lithuania's independence, but only to let those unfortunate separatists crawl back in under the noose for an additional five years at least. We, on our part, were demonstrating our sovereign constitution that had been pasted together, however hurriedly, prior to 11 March. We lived and worked in accordance with our own laws, refusing to recognize the foreign ones. Thus, one could have failed to understand this. Could this have been a conflict between two constitutions? A constitutional war?

Thus, the term battle of the laws came into being and was used. It was supposedly objective, while in truth it was a weapon against us, since then we would have begun the war—disturbers of peace and stability. No, we said, it is the Soviets who are going against us with aggression against the laws, wishing to foist upon us once again a foreign occupation constitution, which unfortunately they themselves have not observed for a long time. According to the Soviet Constitution our so-called secession or separation would be totally legal. Again, we decided against the trap of their new law which could not be applied to us retroactively. Thus, we did not violate any constitution—we just did not accept a foreign one. Thus, this propaganda weapon soon lost its bite.

Moreover, we also used to withstand the reproaches concerning destabilization, namely that it was totally to the contrary, and that we want only to restore the stability which the Soviets violated 50 years ago. Well, they kept on hammering and hammering in nails wherever they could.

Look, Lithuania, the Sajudis, parliament, Landsbergis, are not entering into any compromise with Gorbachev. Surely they wish to intentionally harm perestroika which is so awaited by the world. What will be left for Gorbachev if not to establish order, even if by force. But those inflexible ones will themselves be to blame. Moreover, perhaps the Western leaders who have been convinced thus will grant Gorbachev a prior absolution for his sins, who was compelled by circumstances.

The Sajudis invited the people of Lithuania to a consultation in Vingis Park. The KGB'S journalist friends ridiculed that and urged the people not to come. A military helicopter embellished with red stars circled overhead, blatantly demonstrating its immunity. All this while the people—the entire massive gathering—replied: We will not retreat. The blockade [word-indistinct] came to naught. The word blockade was our proof of the Soviet anger which reigned supreme in the Western press. While the notions of political inflexibility and shortage of political decisions was their weapon against us which was used even within Lithuania itself.

I also recall a phone call from one esteemed senator from overseas, who through his interpreter transmitted very precisely and very officially the opinion of his president, to the effect that we have a total right to act according to our own statutes regarding our independence. However, a certain amount of flexibility and concesssion would also be a good thing. Explanations had to be given as many times to others that we are for compromise; however, that which was demanded by Gorbachev would be capitulation on our part. It was he who was not entering into compromises, who was totally inflexible, and demanding nothing less than capitulation—to recognize the Soviet Constitution in Lithuania.

Again we protested against the military and economic force, proposed negotiations, which were also proposed by the West, and finally the Soviets had to accept the formula—negotiations, not force. That was not a simple victory, since Mikhail Gorbachev had renounced any negotiations with Lithuania from the start until we rescinded the Act of 11 March. Concurrently, propaganda was being spread in Lithuania to the effect that Gorbachev would not speak to Landsbergis. Therefore, in order to save Lithuania someone should be replaced by someone else.

The negotiation concept, which was perfeclty well felt by the Soviet politicians, led to a further tied question: Negotiate with whom, about what, who are the partners, to what extent they attempt to turn the negotiations to a delegation conversation about one knows not what, and to delay for time in order to try out the bloody terror, and the blackmail of tearing Lithuania apart. Maybe we would surrender or else split?

On an international level, Lithuania was expressing itself more and more as being an existing and factually recognized country. Moreover, the negotiations, in progress or broken off, were viewed as an affair between two states. This of course was aided by the offers by third countries—Czechoslovakia and Iceland—of mediation or neutral negotiation locations, and our own appeals to international organizations that this conflict which had lasted for 50 years is not only bilateral but also regional and European.

We have won the war of ideas. That was determined not by systems to destroy peoples' intellect, where we would not have been able to be equal, even from a distance. It was decided by a simple matter—the truth—which could be found in the arguments of some, and which could not be located in the dialectics and demagoguery of others. The mysterious August putsch merely dotted the i's and crossed the t's of the illegal paths. The 11 March path was the rightful one.

Now let us return once more to Lithuania's goal. When we were told: Do not harm Soviet restructuring and do not break off from it—and this was stated in the East, in the West, and in Lithuania itself—we were aware that we would accomplish it ourselves faster and better, and perhaps without such sufferings as in the other country. Independence was required for that, which we were continually augmenting and were already approaching the principal boundary of change. Will that boundary be overcome by this convocation of our Supreme Council? It has experienced some new social situations and its own regroupings and the influence of new group interests. Are these changes and interests adequate to the changes and interests in society? Is there not perhaps a certain gap in existence? Here, first of all, the deputies themselves and their factions must ponder and answer this for themselves.

We are the same parliament which two years ago stated: Urbi Et Orbi [Latin phrase meaning city and the world], full independence and now. In the political and international sense we have nearly fulfilled history's task. We are again a state, open to the world and having open

paths to it. On other levels, total independence has not yet been attained. Economic, and especially agrarian reform, is just coming into full swing. We have not agreed on whether land reform is progressing to fast or much too slowly. There is much resentment because of its stoppage through abuses, which especially arouse the people. There are also some instances of sluggishness and some procrastination in order to make things worse, and even some exhortations to sabotage, so that things become totally bad. Someone does not want independent farmers in Lithuania. They will recall, however, which one of the leaders conscientiously safeguarded the common property and assisted in privatizing it peacefully and justly. Moreover, they will recall which one first provided for himself and his relatives under the guise of privatization while he only mocked the dependent neighbors: Here is your independent Lithuania.

We only talk about the salvation of the economy amid the seas, about economic and energy independence. In two years, even in the conditions of war, and maybe especially because of them, we could have advanced further. We are lacking laws concerning business, communications, and the protection of law and order. We suffer great loses because of this. But politics in this legislative institution also occupied much too much time.

The foreign army is still on our land and it does not show any sincere wish to leave. They are still expecting something—the threat of great dangers to the independence of Lithuania and the security of its people. But those who delay the solution of this issue should not think that Lithuania will suffer passively and expect favors. The parliament, I think, is affected by an illusion that we already have independence, that more time can be spared for the internal policy of parliament itself. People hardly want this. Today we are facing the most difficult and the most responsible period of consolidating independence, when attention must be paid to reforms and improving the mechanism of their implementation, the improvement of law and order, and interaction among the government structures. The self-criticism of parliament and not pomposity toward the government would be a good example for the government, too.

Once again we do not have much time. The factor of fruitful work by parliament will show what priorities we select, how we understand the duty of solving the most important tasks of protecting independence, and revealing its powers. In order to solve these tasks, we must above all preserve and cherish the trust of the people.

Eleven March 1990 was a vivifying floating of the ice, the river of independence lifted, broken up, and carried away the ice of half a century with its various patches. There have been dangers, problems, and disagreements, but everything was overshadowed by a feeling that unstoppable events were taking place in front of us and with our participation.

Now, two years later, we see the still existing congestion of ice and rubbish hampering free flow and we think: Who is going to remove all this up to the end—will it be our efforts?

The Supreme Council must make its contribution so that this spring and this year become a period of Lithuania's basic and non-Soviet turning point toward the better. Then we will fulfill the task entrusted to us by Lithuania's regeneration.

Thank you for your attention.